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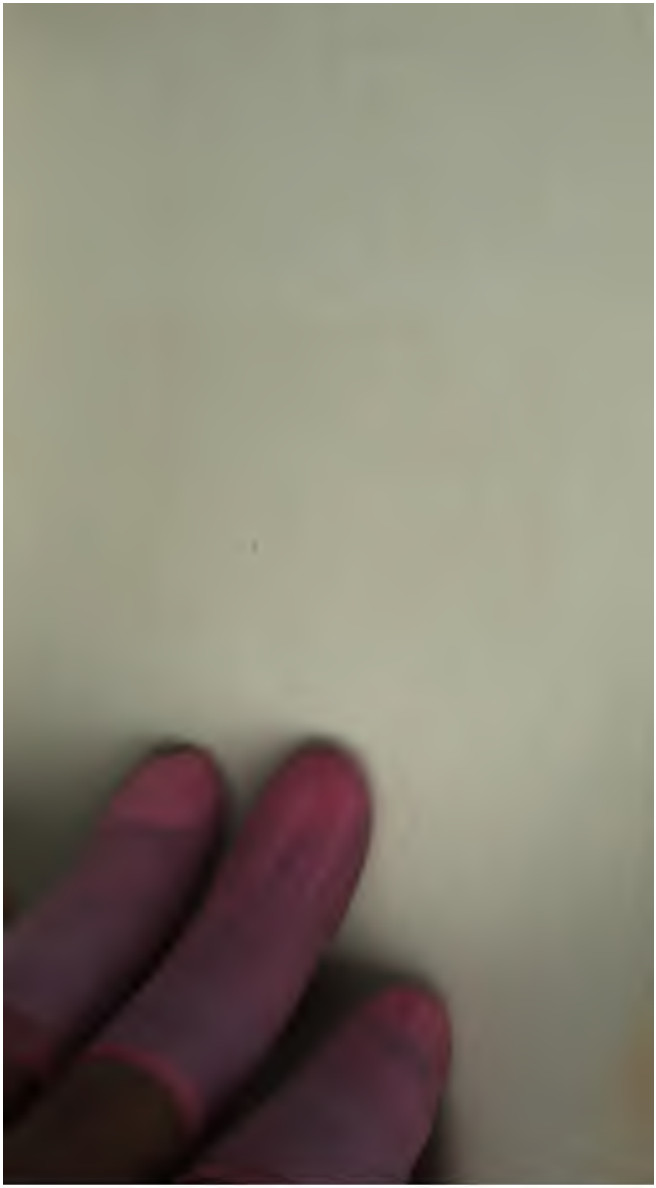

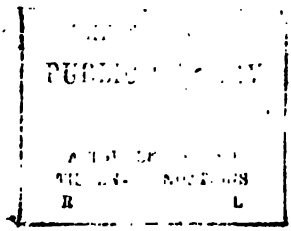

Louis 15th King of France stab'd by Damie

THE

AGE

OF

LOUIS XV.

Being the SEQUEL of the

AGE of LOUIS XIV.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

WITH A

SUPPLEMENT,

Comprifing an Account of all the public and private Affairs of FRANCE, from the Peace of VERSAILLES, 1763, to the Death of LOUIS XV. May 10th, 1774.

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THE

AGE OF LOUIS XV.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Enterprize, Victories, Defeat, and deplorable Misfortunes of Prince CHARLES, EDWARD STUART.

PRINCE Charles Edward was the ſon of him who was ſtiled the pretender, or the chevalier de St. George. It is well known that his grand-father had been dethroned by the Engliſh; his great grand-father was condemned to the block by his own ſubjects; and his great, great grand-mother underwent the ſame ſentence from the parliament of England. This laſt ſcion of ſo many kings and victims, waſted his youth in retirement at Rome, with his father. He had more than once expreſſed a deſire to expoſe his life to regain the throne of his anceſtors. He had been

called into France ſince the year 1742, and had made ſome fruitleſs attempts to land in England. He now waited at Paris for ſome favourable opportunity; while France was exhauſting herſelf of men and money, in Germany, in France, and in Italy. All thoughts of him had been buried during the viciſſitudes of this univerſal war,—he was a ſacrifice to the public calamities of the times.

The prince diſcourſing one day with cardinal Tencin, who owed his promotion in the ſacred college to the intereſt of the chevalier de St. George, the cardinal ſaid to him, "Why "do not you attempt to paſs over to the north "of Scotland in ſome veſſel; your preſence "alone will form you a party and an army, and "then France muſt aſſiſt you."

This bold advice, correſponding with the bravery of Charles Edward, he determined to follow it. He imparted his deſign only to ſeven officers, part Iriſh, and part Scotch, who agreed to ſhare his fate. One of them applied to one Mr. Walſh, a merchant at Nantz, and the ſon of an Iriſhman, in the intereſt of the houſe of Stuart. This merchant had a frigate which mounted eighteen guns, on board of which the prince embarked the 12th of June 1745, equipped for an expedition (whoſe object was no leſs than the crown of Great-Britain) with only ſeven officers,

officers, about eighteen hundred ſabres, twelve hundred muſquets, and forty-eight thouſand livres. The frigate was convoyed by a man of war of ſixty-four guns, named the Elizabeth, which had been fitted out at Dunkirk to cruize as a privateer. It was the cuſtom, at this time, for the miniſter of the marine to lend the king's ſhips to merchants, and other adventurers, who paid a certain ſum for them to the king, and maintained the crew, at their expence, during the cruize. Neither the miniſter of the marine, nor yet the king of France knew any thing of the deſtination of this ſhip.

On the 20th of the ſame month, the Elizabeth and the frigate ſailing along together, met with three Engliſh men of war, convoying a fleet of merchant-men. The largeſt of theſe ſhips mounting ſeventy guns, ſeparated from the reſt to engage the Elizabeth; and it was a moſt fortunate circumſtance, which ſeemed to preſage ſucceſs to prince Edward, that his frigate was not attacked. The Elizabeth and the Engliſh ſhip maintained a long, violent and ineffectual engagement. The frigate, which carried the grandſon of James II. eſcaped, and crouded all her ſails for Scotland *.

* One of the principal parties in the enterprize, aſſured me of this circumſtance.

The firſt place the prince touched at was a ſmall iſland, almoſt a deſart, beyond Ireland, towards the fifty-eighth degree; it is a kind of girdle to the continent of Scotland. He landed in a diſtrict, called, the Moidart. Some of the inhabitants, to whom he made himſelf known, fell on their knees; But what ſhall we do? ſaid they to him; we have no arms,—we are in extreme indigence,—we live only upon oatmeal bread, and we cultivate an ungrateful ſoil. "I "will till that ground with you, (replied the "prince,)—I will eat the ſame bread,—I will "ſhare your poverty, and I bring you arms."

The effect of ſuch ſentiments on theſe people may be eaſily conceived. He was joined by ſome chiefs of the tribes of Scotland. Thoſe of the name of Macdonald, of Lochiel, the Camerons, and the Fraſers came in ſearch of him.

Theſe tribes of Scotland, who are called clans in the Scotch language, inhabit a country of more than two hundred miles in extent, covered with mountains and foreſts. The thirty-three iſles of the Orcades, and the thirty of Zetland, are all inhabited by theſe clans, ſubject to one form of government. The ancient Roman military dreſs is preſerved by them alone, as has been already remarked in ſpeaking of the *regiment* of Scotch highlanders who fought at

the

the battle of Fontenoy. It may well be imagined that the rigour of the climate, and their extreme poverty, inure them to the greateſt fatigues: they ſleep on the bare ground; they endure hunger; they make long marches in the midſt of froſt and ſnow. Each clan was in ſubjection to its *laird*, that is to ſay, its lord, who exerciſed an abſolute power over it; a power which no Engliſh lord poſſeſſes, and they were commonly of the party embraced by their lairds.

This ancient anarchy, which is called the feudal law, ſubſiſted in this poor, ſterile part of Great Britain, which was abandoned to its own cuſtoms. The inhabitants, without any employment which could procure them a comfortable ſubſiſtence, were always ready to run headlong into any enterprize that flattered them with the hopes of booty. This was not the caſe in Ireland, a more fertile country, and better governed by the court of London, and in which they had given great encouragement to huſbandry and manufactures. The Iriſh began to be more firmly attached to the quiet enjoyment of their property than to the houſe of Stuart. Theſe were the reaſons that Ireland was quiet, and Scotland in commotion.

Ever ſince the union of the kingdom of Scotland with that of England, in the reign of queen

Ann, ſeveral Scotch gentlemen, who were not choſen members of the parliament at London, nor retained in the ſervice of the court by penſions, were ſecretly devoted to the houſe of Stuart; and, in general, the inhabitants of the northern parts of Scotland, rather ſubdued than united, murmured at this union, and regarded it as a kind of ſlavery.

The clans of the lairds, in the intereſt of the court, as were the dukes of Argyle, of Athol, of Queenſbury, and ſeveral others, remained faithful to the government; a great number of private perſons, however, muſt be excepted, who were fired with the enthuſiaſm of their countrymen, and were ſoon engaged to take the part of a prince, who derived his origin from their country, and who excited their zeal and admiration.

The ſeven perſons, whom the prince had taken with him, were, the marquiſs of Tullabardine, brother to the duke of Athol, Macdonald, Sheridan, Sullivan, appointed quartermaſter to an army they had not yet raiſed, Kelly an Iriſhman, and Strickland an Engliſhman.

They had not yet aſſembled three hundred men about his perſon, when they made a royal ſtandard of a piece of taffety, which Sullivan had brought over. Every inſtant this troop

increaſed;

increaſed; and the prince had not paſſed the village of Fenning before he ſaw himſelf at the head of fifteen hundred fighting men, whom he armed with muſkets and ſabres. He ſent the frigate back to France to inform the kings of France and Spain of his landing. Theſe two monarchs wrote to him, and ſtiled him *brother*; not that they ſolemnly acknowledged him as heir to the crown of Great Britain, but when writing to him they could not refuſe this compliment, due to his birth, and to his valour. They ſent him ſupplies, at different times, of men, ammunition and arms. Theſe ſuccours were obliged to paſs by ſtealth through the Engliſh fleets, which cruiſed to the eaſt and to the weſt of Scotland. Some were taken, others arrived ſafe, and ſerved to encourage the party which grew ſtronger every day. No ſeaſon could appear more favourable for a revolution: the king was abſent from England *, and there were not ſix thouſand regular troops in the whole kingdom. Some companies of the regiment of Sinclair marched immediately to the environs of Edinburgh againſt the prince's ſmall troop: theſe were entirely defeated; thirty highlanders took eighty of the Engliſh priſoners, with their officers and baggage.

* On his uſual ſummer viſit to his electoral dominions.

This firſt ſucceſs increaſed the hopes and the courage of the party, and gained them new ſoldiers from all quarters. They continued their march without intermiſſion: prince Edward always on foot at the head of his mountaineers, cloathed like them, eating as they did, traverſed the counties of Badinoch, of Athol, and of Perthſhire, and ſeized on Perth, a conſiderable town in Scotland. Here he was ſolemnly proclaimed regent of England, France, Scotland and Ireland, for his father James III. This title of regent of France, which a prince arrogated to himſelf, who was ſcarce maſter of a little Scotch town, and who could not ſupport himſelf but by the aſſiſtance of the king of France, was, in conſequence of an aſtoniſhing cuſtom which has prevailed, that the kings of England take the title of kings of France; a cuſtom which ought to be aboliſhed, yet it ſtill ſubſiſts, becauſe men never think of reforming abuſes, till they become important and dangerous *. The duke of Perth, and lord George Murray,

* This reflection is very inapplicable to the ſubject, as it will be difficult for Mr. de Voltaire to prove, that the title of kings of France, which our kings ſtill retain, is not founded on a valid claim, which diſpoſſeſſion, by force of arms, does not by any means aboliſh; nor is it likely that the continuing to annex this to the other titles of the ſovereigns of Great Britain, will ever prove either

Murray, arrived at this time at Perth, and ſwore allegiance to the young adventurer. They brought with them new troops; a whole company of a Scotch regiment, in the ſervice of the court, deſerted to range themſelves under his banners. He takes Dundee, Drummond, Newbourg,—a council of war is held,—opinions are divided with reſpect to the route,—the prince was for marching directly to Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland; but how could he form any hopes of taking Edinburgh with ſo ſmall an army, and no cannon? He had partizans in the city, but all the citizens were not for him: "It will be ſufficient (ſays the prince) to ſhew "myſelf, to make them all declare for me;" and, without loſs of time, he marches to the capital; on his arrival, he ſeizes the gate: the whole city is in alarm: ſome were for acknowledging the heir of their ancient kings; others adhered to the government. A general pillage

important or dangerous to themſelves or their ſubjects. But it is to be obſerved once for all, that Voltaire, throughout the whole of his memoirs of the young pretender, writes with the partiality of a Frenchman, and ſhews an attachment to this branch of the houſe of Stuart, which betrays his ignorance of the Britiſh conſtitution, when he arraigns the equity and juſtneſs of the Britiſh nation for their ſufferings, and final excluſion from the throne.

is apprehended; the moſt opulent citizens tranſport their effects to the caſtle; governor Gueſt retires there with his garriſon, conſiſting of four hundred men; the magiſtrates come to the gates of which Charles Edward was maſter. The provoſt, named Stuart, who was ſuſpected to hold intelligence with him, appeared before him, and with a countenance of diſmay, aſked him what he to was do, "Fall on your knees, "(replied an inhabitant) and acknowledge "him;" he was immediately proclaimed in the capital. In the mean time, a price was ſet upon his head at London. The lords of the regency, during the abſence of the king, cauſed it to be proclaimed, that they would give thirty thouſand pounds ſterling to whoever ſhould deliver it. This proſcription was conformable to an act of parliament made in the 17th year of the king's reign, and to other acts of the ſame parliament. Queen Ann had been forced to proſcribe her own brother; to whom, in her latter days, ſhe would have left her crown, if ſhe could have followed her own ſentiments. She had offered four thouſand pounds for his head, and the parliament fixed it at eighty thouſand.

If ſuch a proſcription is a maxim of ſtate, it is a very difficult one to reconcile with thoſe *principles* of moderation, which all courts take a pride

a pride in profeſſing. Prince Charles Edward might have made a ſimilar proclamation; but he endeavoured to ſtrengthen his cauſe, and to render himſelf more reſpectable by oppoſing, ſome months after, to thoſe ſanguine proſcriptions; manifeſtos, in which he forbid his adherents to attempt the perſon of the reigning king, or of any prince of the houſe of Hanover; beſides, his chief buſineſs was to think only how he might make the moſt advantage of the firſt ardour of his party, which he could not ſuffer to cool.

Scarce was he maſter of Edinburgh when he learnt that he might come to an engagement, and he prepared for it as faſt as poſſible. He knew that general Cope was advancing againſt him; that the militia was raiſing in all parts; that regiments were forming in England; that others were ſent for home from Flanders; in fine, that he had not a moment to loſe. He quits Edinburgh, not leaving a ſingle ſoldier in it; marches with about three thouſand highlanders towards the Engliſh, who were to the number of four thouſand, and had two regiments of dragoons. The prince's cavalry conſiſted only of ſome ſumpter horſes. He neither gave himſelf the time nor the trouble to ſend for his field-pieces; he knew that Cope had ſix, but nothing ſtopt him. He came up

with the enemy at Preſton-pans, about ſeven miles from Edinburgh. He was ſcarce arrived, when he ranged his little army in order of battle; the duke of Perth, and lord George Murray, commanded one the right, and the other, the left wing of the army, that is to ſay, each about ſeven or eight hundred men. Charles Edward had ſo ſtrong an idea of conqueſt, that before he charged the enemy, he remarked a defile by which they might retreat, and ſent five hundred highlanders to take poſſeſſion of it: thus he engaged with only two thouſand five hundred men, having not ſo much as a ſecond line of battle, nor a corps-de-reſerve. He drew his ſword, and flinging the ſcabbard at ſome diſtance from him, "My "companions, (ſays he) I will not ſheath it "again till you are free and happy." He had got poſſeſſion of the field of battle almoſt as ſoon as the enemy, and he did not give them time to make a diſcharge of their artillery. His whole force marched up rapidly to the Engliſh, without keeping their ranks, making uſe of bagpipes inſtead of trumpets; they fired at about twenty paces from the enemy, then threw down their muſkets, and holding their targets with one hand over their heads, they ruſhed in between the infantry and the cavalry, ſtabbing the horſes, *and attacking* the ſoldiers with their ſabres.

Every

Every thing that is new and unexpected terrifies: this unuſual way of fighting frightened the Engliſh; ſtrength of body, which is not at preſent of any uſe in other battles, was of great ſervice in this. The Engliſh gave way on all ſides without making any reſiſtance; eight hundred were ſlain; the reſt fled to the place the prince had noticed, and there fourteen hundred were taken priſoners. Every thing fell into the hands of the conqueror; he formed a body of cavalry with the horſes of the enemy's dragoons. General Cope was obliged to fly; the nation murmured at him; he was tried by a court-martial, for not concerting his meaſures properly; but he was acquitted, and it inconteſtibly appeared that the fate of the battle was owing, in ſome meaſure, to the preſence of a prince, who inſpired his party with unbounded confidence, but principally to the new manner of fighting, which aſtoniſhed the Engliſh. This is an advantage which almoſt always ſucceeds the firſt time, and which the commanders of armies perhaps do not ſufficiently attend to.

Charles Edward loſt only ſixty men in this engagement. The only difficulty attending his victory was how to diſpoſe of his priſoners, who were nearly equal in number to their conquerors. Having no places of ſecurity, he releaſed them on their parole, after ſwearing them

not

progreſs of the rebellion. The loſs of the battle of Preſton-pans alarmed him to ſuch a degree that he did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to reſiſt it with the Engliſh militia. Several of the nobility raiſed regiments at their own expence in his favour; and the whig party, in particular, which is the prevailing party in England, made a point of preſerving the government it had eſtabliſhed, and the family it had placed on the throne; but the king reflecting, that if prince Edward ſhould receive freſh ſuccours, and have further ſucceſs, theſe very militia might turn againſt himſelf. He exacted a new oath from the militia of London. This oath of fidelity was couched in theſe very terms: "I abhor, I deteſt, I reject as an impious opi-"nion, that damnable doctrine, that princes "excommunicated by the pope, may be depoſed "and aſſaſſinated by their ſubjects, or any other "perſons whatever, &c." But there was no queſtion of excommunication, nor of the pope in this affair; and as for aſſaſſination, they could hardly apprehend any other, but that which had been publicly propoſed, with a reward of thirty thouſand pounds ſterling. According to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed in times of trouble, ſince the reign of William III. all the Roman catholic prieſts were ordered to depart *from London*, and its environs. But it was

not the popiſh prieſts they had reaſon to dread; thoſe who profeſſed that religion, did not make an hundredth part of the people; it was the valour of prince Edward; it was the intrepidity of a victorious army, animated by unexpected ſucceſs. The king was obliged to ſend for ſix thouſand of his troops from Flanders, and to demand ſix thouſand more of the Dutch, in virtue of treaties ſubſiſting with their republic.

The States General ſent him the very troops, which, by the capitulation of Tournay and Dendermond, could not ſerve *(againſt France)* in leſs than eighteen months. They had promiſed not to engage in any ſervice, not even in the moſt diſtant towns of the frontiers; and the States juſtified this infraction, by ſaying, that England was not a frontier. They were obliged to lay down their arms before the French troops, but it was alleged that they were not going to fight againſt the French; they were not to enter into any foreign ſervice; it was anſwered, that, in effect, they were not in any foreign ſervice, ſince they were ſubject to the orders, and received the pay, of the States General.

By ſuch diſtinctions as theſe, the capitulation which was as diſtinct as poſſible, but in which, a caſe, that no one foreſaw could not be ſpecified, was eluded.

Although

Although there happened at this time ſundry other great events, I ſhall purſue that of the commotion in England, and the order of affairs ſhall be preferred to the order of time, which will not ſuffer by it. Nothing ſerves to prove the ſtrength of alarms ſo much as an exceſs of precautions.

I cannot forbear mentioning, in this place, an artifice made uſe of to render the perſon of Charles Edward odious in London. An imaginary journal was printed, in which a compariſon was made between the events related in the news-papers, under the government of king George, with thoſe which they ſuppoſed would be recorded in theſe papers, under the domination of a catholic prince.

"Now, ſaid they, our news-papers, at "one time, give us an account of the treaſures "carried to the bank, which have been taken "from the French and Spaniſh ſhips; at ano-"ther, that we have demoliſhed Porto-Bello; "that we have taken Louiſbourg, and are ma-"ſters of the commerce of the globe. But let "us ſee what the papers will mention under "the adminiſtration of the pretender. This "day he was proclaimed in all parts of Lon-"don by highlanders and friars; ſeveral houſes "have been burnt, and a number of citizens "*maſſacred*,

"The

" The 4th, The South-ſea-houſe and India-
" houſe were converted into convents.

" The 20th, Six members of parliament were
" ſent to priſon.

" The 26th, Three of the ports of England
" were delivered up to the French.

" The 28th, the law of Habeas Corpus was
" aboliſhed; and a new act paſſed for burning
" heretics.

" The 29th, Father Poignardini, an Italian
" jeſuit, was made keeper of the privy-ſeal."

In the mean time, the law of Habeas Corpus was actually ſuſpended on the 28th of October. This law is regarded as a fundamental one in England, and the bulwark of the freedom of the nation. By this law, the king cannot cauſe any citizen to be impriſoned longer than twenty-four hours; he muſt then be examined and releaſed on giving bail, 'till his trial is ready; and, if he has been arreſted unjuſtly, the ſecretary of ſtate may be made to pay dearly for every hour of his confinement.

The king has not a right to cauſe any member of parliament to be arreſted, on any pretence whatever, without the conſent of the houſe. The parliament, in times of rebellion, ſuſpends all theſe laws by a particular act, and gives the king a power to ſeize all ſuſpected perſons during ſuch times *only*; no member of either houſe

furniſhed

furniſhed the leaſt pretext for an arreſt. Some, however, were ſuſpected by the public to be jacobites, and ſeveral of the citizens of London were tacitly of that party; but not one would hazard his life and fortune on uncertain hopes. Miſtruſt and inquietude agitated every mind; every one was afraid to ſpeak. It is a crime in this country to drink to the health of a proſcribed prince who pretends to the crown, as it was formerly at Rome under the reigning emperor, to keep the ſtatues of his competitor in their houſes. They drank at London to the health of the king and the prince, which might mean either king James and his ſon prince Charles Edward, or king George and his eldeſt ſon the prince of Wales. The ſecret abettors of the projected revolution contented themſelves with publiſhing writings, ſo cautiouſly worded, that their party might eaſily underſtand them, while the government could not condemn them. A great many of this ſort were diſtributed; and one among others, in which it was advertiſed, "That there was a young man of great ex-"pectations, who was on the point of making "a conſiderable fortune; that in a ſhort time "he had made twenty thouſand pounds, but "was in want of friends to eſtabliſh himſelf at "London." The liberty of the preſs is one of thoſe privileges of which the Engliſh are extremely

tremely jealous. The law of the land does not permit aſſembling and haranguing the people; but it allows of converſing with the whole nation in writing. The government cauſed all the printing-offices to be ſearched, but having no right to ſhut up any, except a crime is proved againſt them, they let them alone.

The conſternation was manifeſt at London, when the news arrived that prince Edward had taken Carliſle, that his army increaſed, and, at length, that he was at Derby about thirty leagues from London. It was now that he had national Engliſhmen in his troops; three hundred inhabitants of the county of Lancaſter enliſted into his Mancheſter regiment. Mean time report, which always augments things, made his army thirty thouſand ſtrong. It was rumoured that the whole county of Lancaſter had declared for him. The ſhops and the bank at London were ſhut up for a whole day *.

CHAP.

* This error cannot be paſſed over in ſilence. The conſternation indeed was very great when the news were brought to London, that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of Derby, and on the point of marching forward to the capital; but terror was only viſible on the countenances, and expreſſed in the converſation of the inhabitants; neither the public order nor tranquility of the city were diſturbed; the bank and all public offices as well as tradeſmens ſhops were open, and buſineſs tranſacted as uſual.

CHAP. XXV.

Continuation of the Adventures of Prince CHARLES EDWARD. His Defeat; his Misfortunes, and thoſe of his Party.

FROM the day that prince Edward landed in Scotland, his officers ſolicited France for ſuccours in their enterprize; and the greater his progreſs, the more preſſing were their ſolicitations. Some Iriſh officers in the French ſervice were of opinion, that a deſcent into England towards Plymouth would be practicable. The paſſage from Calais or Boulogn to theſe coaſts is ſhort. They did not approve of a fleet of men of war for this expedition, as much time would be loſt in the equipment, and the preparations alone give the Engliſh ſqua-

uſual. The panic was even much greater on the day following, on Sunday; a report having been ſpread that the Roman catholics in London, to favour the rebellion, had conſpired to riſe and maſſacre the proteſtant inhabitants in the churches, in time of divine ſervice. Some anonymous letters, ambiguouſly mentioning the horrid plan were received, particularly by ſome of the principal houſekeepers in Spitalfields, which occaſioned the ſtationing large detachments of the city militia in the *church*-yards of the principal churches in London.

drons

drons timely notice to oppoſe their landing. They pretended that they could land eight or ten thouſand men, with their cannon, in the night; that only ſome merchant-ſhips, and a few privateers were wanted for ſuch an attempt; and they maintained that a party in England would join the French army as ſoon as they were diſembarked, and that they might ſoon after unite with the prince's troops near London. In ſhort, they repreſented it as an eaſy and complete revolution, demanding the duke de Richelieu to head this enterprize, who, by his ſignal ſervices at the battle of Fontenoy, and the great reputation he had in Europe, was better qualified than any other General for conducting, with proper ſpirit, this bold and delicate affair. They intreated ſo much that at laſt their demand was granted. Colonel Lally, who was afterwards lieutenant-general, and came to ſo tragical an end, was the ſoul of this enterprize. The writer of this hiſtory, who was connected with him a long time, can affirm, that he never ſaw a man more zealous, and that his failure in this enterprize aroſe only from its impracticability. They could not put openly to ſea in the face of the Engliſh ſquadrons, ſo ſtrictly were the coaſts guarded, and this project was regarded in a very ridiculous light in London.

Some

Some ſmall ſuccours only of men and money could be ſent over to the prince, and that by the way of the German ocean, and the eaſt of Scotland. Lord Drummond, brother to the duke of Perth, an officer in the French ſervice, opportunely arrived with ſome pickets, and three companies of the royal Scotch regiment. When he landed at Montroſe he immediately publiſhed, "That he was come by order of "the king of France, to ſuccour his ally the "prince of Wales, regent of Scotland, and to "make war againſt the king of England, elector "of Hanover." Then the Dutch troops, who, by their capitulation could not ſerve againſt the king of France, were forced to adhere to the law of arms, which had been a long time eluded, and to remain neuter; they were, therefore, ſent back to Holland, and the Engliſh court ſent for ſix thouſand Heſſians in their place. This neceſſity for foreign troops was a confeſſion of the danger in which they thought themſelves. The pretender diſtributed freſh manifeſtoes in the north and in the weſt of England, by which he invited the nation to join him, declaring that the priſoners of war ſhould be treated as his own men, and expreſsly renewed to his officers, his prohibitions of attempting the life of the reigning king, or of any *of his* family. Theſe proclamations, which

appeared

appeared ſo generous in a prince, on whoſe head they ſet a reward, met with a fate which nothing but ſtate-policy can juſtify,—they were burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

It was of more importance and more urgent to oppoſe the progreſs of the pretender than to burn his manifeſtoes. The Engliſh militia retook Edinburgh; and another party covering the county of Lancaſter, cut off his ſupplies, which obliged him to retreat. His army was ſometimes ſtrong, ſometimes weak, becauſe he had not the means of ſecuring the fidelity of his troops by an exact payment; yet about eight thouſand men ſtill remained with him. Scarce was the prince informed that the enemy was within ſix miles of him, near Falkirk marſhes, than he flew to attack them, although they were almoſt as many again in number, engaging in the ſame manner, and with the ſame impetuoſity as at Preſton-pans. His highlanders, further encouraged by a terrible ſtorm which blew right in the faces of the Engliſh, directly put them in diſorder; but ſoon after they were broke by their own impetuoſity. Six pickets of the French troops covered them, maintained the battle, and gave them time to rally. Prince Edward always ſaid, that if he had had only three thouſand regular troops, he ſhould have made himſelf *maſter* of all England.

The Engliſh dragoons began the flight, and the whole army followed, regardleſs of the commands of the generals and officers, and regained their camp in the duſk of the evening, which was entrenched and almoſt ſurrounded by a moraſs.

The victor, remaining maſter of the field of battle, inſtantly took the reſolution of attacking them in their camp, notwithſtanding the ſtorm continued with redoubled violence. The highlanders loſt ſome time in finding their muſkets in the dark, which, according to cuſtom, they had thrown away in the action. He then began the march to give a ſecond battle, and penetrated, ſword-in-hand, almoſt to the enemy's camp; univerſal terror prevailed, and the Engliſh troops, beaten twice in one day, although with little loſs, fled to Edinburgh, having not quite ſix hundred men killed in this battle, but left their tents and baggage in the enemy's power: theſe victories greatly redounded to the prince's honour, but contributed little to his intereſt. The duke of Cumberland marched into Scotland, and arrived the 10th of February at Edinburgh. Prince Edward was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Stirling caſtle; the winter was extremely ſevere, and ſubſiſtence failed. His chief reſource was in the aſſiſtance of a few *friends*, who made excurſions ſometimes on the

ſide

ſide of Inverneſs, and at others, towards Aberdeen, to collect the few troops, and the little money that they ventured to ſupply him with from France. The largeſt of the veſſels, ſent to him with ſuccours, were watched and taken by the Engliſh fleet: three companies of Fitz-James's regiment luckily found means to eſcape and land. Whenever a little veſſel arrived, it was received, by the inhabitants of the north, with the loudeſt acclamations of joy; the women ran to meet the troops, and led the officers horſes by their bridles. The ſmalleſt ſuccours, in theſe circumſtances were reported to be conſiderable reinforcements; but his army was not leſs preſſed by the duke of Cumberland. They were retired into Inverneſs, and all the country did not ſide with him. The duke at laſt croſſed the river Spey, and marched towards Inverneſs, and a deciſive battle could not be avoided.

The prince had nearly the ſame number of troops as at the battle of Falkirk, and the duke of Cumberland had fifteen battalions and nine ſquadrons, beſides a corps of highlanders. The advantage, in point of numbers, was continually and unavoidably on the ſide of the Engliſh, who had alſo a cavalry and an artillery well ſerved, which were ſtill greater advantages, and they were at laſt accuſtomed to the highlanders man-

ner of fighting, which no longer intimidated them. They had likewiſe to repair, under the eyes of the duke, the ſhame of their former defeats. The duke gained the battle by making every other rank reſerve their fire, ſo that after the rebels had fired and flung down their muſkets, they cloſed in with their broad-ſwords as uſual, and were received by the duke's troops with a reſerved fire, when they advanced up to the very muzzles of their guns,—it was great generalſhip. The two armies came in ſight of each other on the 27th of April, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at a place called Culloden. The highlanders did not make the attack with their uſual impetuoſity; the battle was entirely loſt, and the prince, ſlightly wounded, was carried off the field in the moſt precipitate manner. Time and place conſtitute the importance of an action. In the preſent war, in Germany, in Italy, and in Flanders, battles have been fought with near one hundred thouſand men, which had no great conſequences; but here an action between only eleven thouſand on one ſide, and ſeven or eight at moſt on the other, decided the fate of three kingdoms. In this engagement, not more than nine hundred of the rebels (the appellation which their miſcarriage fixed on them even in Scotland) were ſlain, and three hundred and twenty were made priſoners. The

vanquiſhed

vanquiſhed fled to the neighbourhood of Inverneſs, and were purſued by the conquerors. The pretender, accompanied by an hundred officers, was obliged to jump into a river, three miles from Inverneſs, and to ſwim over it. When he had gained the other ſide, he ſaw afar off the flames of a barn, in which periſhed between five and ſix hundred highlanders; the conqueror having ſet fire to it, and he heard their cries.

Prince Edward had ſeveral women in his army. One among the reſt, whoſe name was madame Seford, fought at the head of the Scotch troops ſhe brought to his aſſiſtance, and eſcaped the purſuit, but four others were taken. All the French officers were made priſoners of war, and he who tranſacted the buſineſs of French miniſter to the prince, ſurrendered himſelf priſoner at Inverneſs. The Engliſh had only fifty men killed, and two hundred and fifty-nine wounded in this deciſive affair.

The duke of Cumberland diſtributed five thouſand pounds ſterling (making about one hundred and twenty thouſand French livres) to the ſoldiers. This was money that he had received from the mayor of London; it was the gift of ſome citizens, and had been preſented to him for this very purpoſe;—this ſingularity is a farther teſtimony that the richeſt party muſt

be victorious. Not a moment's repoſe was given to the vanquiſhed, for they were every where cloſely purſued. The common ſoldiers eaſily retired to their inacceſſible mountains and deſarts. The officers found it more difficult to eſcape: ſome were betrayed and delivered up to the conqueror; others ſurrendered in hopes of a pardon. Prince Edward, Sullivan, Sheridan, and ſome others of his adherents, retired at firſt to the ruins of fort Auguſtus, which they were ſoon obliged to quit. The farther he retreated, the more he obſerved the decreaſe of his friends; a ſpirit of diſcord ſeized them, and they reproached each other with their common misfortunes. In all diſputes, concerning the meaſures they ſhould take, they exaſperated each other; ſeveral of them withdrew; and of all thoſe, who accompanied him from France, only Sheridan and Sullivan remained with him. With them he marched five days and nights without taking one moment's repoſe, and often wanting nouriſhment. His enemies traced him; all the environs were filled with ſoldiers upon the ſearch after him; and the price ſet upon his head redoubled their diligence. The horrors of his fate entirely reſembled that to which his great uncle, Charles the ſecond, was reduced after the battle of Worceſter, as fatal as that of Culloden. There has

been

been no example upon earth of ſuch a chain of calamities, ſo ſingular and horrible, as thoſe which afflicted all his houſe; he himſelf was born in exile, and he quitted it only to bring his party, after ſome victories, either to the ſcaffold, or to the neceſſity of hiding themſelves in the mountains. His father, driven in his infancy from the royal palace, and from the throne of which he had been acknowledged the lawful heir, had, like him, made ſeveral efforts to regain his throne, which had all terminated in the puniſhment of his followers. All this long ſucceſſion of ſingular misfortunes continually preſented itſelf to the mind of this prince, yet he did not deſpair; he marched on foot, without having his wounds dreſſed, without ſuccours, through the midſt of his enemies, and arrived at laſt in a little port, named Arizaig, in the north-weſt of Scotland.

Fortune at this moment ſeemed to adminiſter comfort to him. Two privateers of Nantz ſailed towards this port, and brought him men, money, and proviſions; but before they had landed, the continual ſearches made after his perſon, obliged him to quit that only ſpot where, then, he might have found ſafety; and they were but a few miles from the port, when he was informed that theſe veſſels had anchored and ſet ſail again. His loſing this opportunity

aggravated his misfortunes, and he was continually obliged to fly, and to ſecrete himſelf. O'Neal, one of his partiſans, an Iriſh officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, who joined him in theſe cruel circumſtances, told him, that he might find a ſafe retreat in a little neighbouring iſle, called Stornway, the laſt iſland to the north-eaſt of Scotland. They embarked in a fiſhing-boat, and arrived at this aſylum; but they were hardly on ſhore when they underſtood, that a detachment of the duke of Cumberland's army was in the iſland. The prince and his friends were obliged to paſs the night in a moor, to elude ſo cloſe a purſuit, and at break of day ventured to re-enter their boat, and put out to ſea without any proviſions, or knowing what courſe to ſteer. They had hardly rowed two miles, when they were ſurrounded by the enemy's fleet.

Their only means of preſervation was to run a-ground between the rocks, upon the borders of an almoſt inacceſſible iſland, and little deſart. What, at other times, has been regarded as the moſt cruel misfortune, was to them their only reſource: they hid their boat behind a rock, and, in this deſart, waited either the departure of the Engliſh fleet, or the arrival of death, to put a finiſhing ſtroke to ſuch a complication of diſaſters. Nothing was left the prince; his friends,

friends, and the ſailors, but a little brandy to ſuſtain their miſerable lives; but by chance they found ſome dried fiſh, which the fiſhermen, driven off by ſtorms, had left upon the ſhore. When the Engliſh fleet diſappeared, they rowed from iſle to iſle, and at laſt gained that very iſland on which he firſt landed upon his arrival from France. Here he found a little ſuccour and repoſe; but this ſmall conſolation laſted him not long, the duke of Cumberland's troops arrived at this new aſylum in about three days after him, and death or captivity appeared inevitable. He, with his two companions, ſecreted themſelves three days and three nights in a cave, and thought themſelves happy to eſcape, and embark for another deſart iſle, where they remained eight days upon ſome proviſions of barley-bread, brandy, and a few ſalt-fiſh.

To depart this iſland, and endeavour to regain Scotland, was to run the riſk of falling into the hands of the Engliſh, who lined the ſea-coaſt; but they muſt either hazard this, or periſh with hunger.

They concluded upon the former; put to ſea, and once more landed in the night, wandering upon the ſhore, having nothing to cover them but the torn rags of the highland habit. At break of day they met with a lady on horſeback, followed by a young domeſtic, and ven-

tured to ſpeak to her. This lady was of the family of the Macdonalds, which was ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of the Stuart line. The prince, who had ſeen her in his proſperity, knew her again, and diſcovered himſelf, when ſhe immediately threw herſelf at his feet; they were all drowned in tears, and thoſe which Miſs Macdonald ſhed in this extraordinary and affecting interview, were redoubled by the peril in which ſhe ſaw her prince; every ſtep they advanced they were in danger of being taken, and ſhe adviſed him to hide himſelf in a cave, which ſhe ſhewed him, at the foot of a mountain, near the cottage of a highlander, who was known by her, and in whom ſhe could confide, promiſing to come herſelf, and take him from this retirement, or ſend ſome truſty perſon whom ſhe would charge to conduct him to her.

Prince Edward, with his boſom friends, were again forced to enter a cavern, the peaſant furniſhing them with a little barley-flour mixed with water. But their inquietude and grief were compleated, when, after having paſſed two days in this frightful place, no perſon came to their ſuccour; all the environs were ſtrictly watched by the militia, and theſe three unhappy people had nothing left to ſubſiſt on. A cruel diſorder weakened the prince; his body was

covered

covered with ulcered ſores. This condition, what he had already ſuffered, and what he had to fear, filled up the meaſure of the moſt horrid miſery that human nature could endure; but he was not yet arrived at the end of his ſufferings.

Miſs Macdonald ſent, at laſt, a meſſenger to the cave, who informed them, that a retreat to the continent was impoſſible; that they muſt again fly into another little iſland, called Benbecula, and take refuge there in the houſe of a poor gentleman, which he would ſhew them; that Miſs Macdonald would meet them there, and conſult upon what methods were moſt proper to be taken for their ſafety. The ſame boat which brought them here, tranſported them to this iſland, and upon their landing, they went immediately to this gentleman's houſe, and the lady embarked ſome miles diſtance in purſuit of them; but no ſooner were they arrived than they learned that the gentleman, with whom they had hoped to find an aſylum, had been carried off in the night-time with all his family. The prince and his friends once more concealed themſelves in the marſhes: at laſt, O'Neal ventured from his concealment, and found Miſs Macdonald in a little cottage. She told him that ſhe could ſave the prince, by dreſſing him in the cloaths of a maid ſervant, which ſhe had brought

with her; that ſhe could not undertake to conceal any more than him, and that more than one perſon would give cauſe of ſuſpicion: theſe two faithful friends, prefering the ſafety of their prince to their own welfare, parted with him in tears, and he followed Miſs Macdonald in a ſervant's dreſs, taking the name of Betty. Notwithſtanding this diſguiſe, dangers ſtill threatened him, and he fled for refuge with this lady to the iſle of Sky, lying to the weſt of Scotland.

They were in a gentleman's houſe when it was ſuddenly inveſted with the enemy's troops. The prince himſelf opened the door to the ſoldiers, and had the good luck not to be known by them; but preſently after it was known in the iſland that he had been in this houſe. It then became neceſſary for him to ſeparate from Miſs Macdonald, and abandon himſelf to the rigour of his deſtiny. He walked ten leagues, attended only by a ſingle waterman: at laſt, preſſed by hunger, and ready to ſink, he hazarded entering into a houſe, the maſter of which he well knew to be an enemy to his party: "The ſon of your king, ſaid he, is "come to demand bread and cloaths of you; "I know you are my enemy, but I believe "you have virtue enough not to abuſe my con- "fidence and my misfortunes. Take theſe mi-

"ſerable

" ſerable garments I now wear, and keep them ;
" one day or other you may bring them to me
" in the palace of the kings of Great Britain."
The gentleman, to whom he addreſſed himſelf, was affected, as might well be expected; he offered him all the aſſiſtance that the poverty of this country would admit of, and kept his ſecret.

From hence he once more regained Scotland, and ſhewed himſelf to the clan of Moran, which was well affected to him. He wandered afterwards about Lochabar and Badenoch : here he was informed, that his benefactreſs, Miſs Macdonald, and almoſt all who had favoured him, were arreſted, and ſaw a liſt of all his officers who were condemned by contumacy, which in England is called a bill of attainder. He was always in danger himſelf; and the only news which he heard, was of the impriſonment of his ſervants, for whom death was preparing.

A report now prevailed in France, that the prince was in the hands of his enemies. His agents in Verſailles alarmed, implored the king to permit his miniſter at leaſt to write in favour of their maſter. The number of Engliſh priſoners of war in France, inſpired the officers of the pretender with hopes, that this would ward off the vengeance of the Engliſh court, and pre-

vent that effuſion of blood which they expected to be ſhed upon the ſcaffold. The marquiſs d'Argenſon, at that time miniſter for foreign affairs, and brother to the ſecretary at war, addreſſed himſelf to Monſ. Van Hoy, ambaſſador of the United Provinces, and intreated him to become a mediator. Theſe two miniſters agreed in a principle which diſtinguiſhed them from moſt ſtateſmen,—they made uſe of ſincerity and humanity, where others employed little elſe but policy.

The ambaſſador Van Hoy wrote directly a long letter to the duke of Newcaſtle, then ſecretary of ſtate, in theſe terms: "May you baniſh "this pernicious art, which diſcord has brought "forth and nouriſhed, to excite mankind to a "mutual deſtruction of each other. Miſerable "notions of policy, which ſubſtitute vengeance, hatred, jealouſy, and avidity, to thoſe "divine precepts which conſtitute the glory of "kings, and the welfare of their ſubjects."

This exhortation ſeemed in its ſubſtance and expreſſions to be adapted to other times than ours. It was ſtiled a homily: inſtead of ſoftening the king of England, it provoked him. He complained to the States General of the bahaviour of their ambaſſador, who had dared to ſend him remonſtrances from a king who was his enemy, concerning his conduct towards

his

his rebellious ſubjects. The duke of Newcaſtle wrote that it was an unprecedenced proceeding. The States ſtrongly reprimanded their ambaſſador; ordered him to make his excuſes to the duke for his intermeddling, and to repair his fault. Van Hoy, convinced that he had not been guilty of any, yet obeyed, and wrote to the duke, "That if he had erred, it was "the inſeparable lot of human nature." He might have failed with regard to the laws of policy, but not to thoſe of humanity. The Engliſh miniſtry and the States General ought to have been ſenſible how far the king of France was in the right; nay, even bound to intercede for that unhappy nation, the Scotch. They ought to have recollected that when Louis XIII. had taken Rochelle, which was in vain ſuccoured by the naval army of king James I. the Engliſh monarch ſent the chevalier Montaign to the king of France, to implore his mercy in behalf of the Rochelle rebels, and that his interceſſions were regarded,—the Engliſh miniſtry had not the ſame clemency.

The government now endeavoured to render prince Charles deſpicable in the eyes of the people, becauſe he had been formidable. The ſtandards which were taken at Culloden, were publicly carried through Edinburgh; the hangman bearing that belonging to the prince, the

others

others were borne by chimney-ſweepers, and the executioner burnt them all together in the market-place. This farce was the prelude of thoſe bloody tragedies which enſued.

On the 10th of Auguſt 1746, ſeventeen officers were executed, the moſt conſiderable of whom was the colonel of the Mancheſter regiment, named Townly; he was drawn, with eight other officers in ſledges, to Kennington-common near London, which was the place of execution; and after they had hanged them, they plucked out their hearts, flung them in their faces, and cut their bodies in quarters. This method of puniſhment is a remnant of ancient barbariſm. Formerly, the criminal's heart was torn out when yet breathing; but now this bloody action is done after they are ſtrangled; their death is leſs cruel, and preſerving this barbarous ſolemnity which is added to it, ſerves to terrify the populace. There was not one of theſe unhappy men who ſuffered, but proteſted that he periſhed in a juſt cauſe, and ſtrenuouſly excited the people to perſiſt in it. Two days after, three Scotch peers were condemned to be beheaded.

The laws of England conſider none as nobility but lords, that is to ſay, the peers of the realm, who are tried for the crime of high-treaſon, in a manner different from the reſt of the

the nation. At their trial, a peer is choſen to preſide as judge, moſt commonly the chancellor, who bears the title of Lord High-ſteward of the kingdom for the time of the trials, after which his title and office ceaſe; this title nearly correſpends with that of Grand Seneſchal. The peers of Great Britain, on theſe occaſions, receive his orders; by letters under his own ſeal, written in Latin, they are ſummoned to aſſemble in the great hall at Weſtminſter; and he muſt have at leaſt twelve peers with him to enable him to proceed to judgment. This ſeſſions is held in the moſt ſolemn manner; the Lord High-ſteward ſitting under a canopy, and the clerk of the crown delivering his commiſſion to a king at arms, who preſents it upon his knees; ſix mace-bearers always attend the doors of his coach, at going in or coming out of the hall; he is paid a thouſand guineas each day during the trial. When the accuſed peers are brought before him, and the other peers their judges, a ſerjeant at arms cries three times Oyez, in the old French language; a ſerjeant of the court carries before them an axe, the edge turned towards the high-ſteward, and when ſentence of death is pronounced, it is turned towards the criminal.

With theſe melancholy ceremonies, the lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Cromarty were conducted

conducted from the Tower to Weſtminſter-hall, where the lord-chancellor being appointed high-ſteward, they were all three found guilty of having borne arms for the pretender, and condemned according to law, to be hanged and quartered. The lord-ſteward, who pronounced their ſentence, informed them at the ſame time, that the king, by virtue of his royal prerogative, changed their puniſhment into that of being beheaded. Lady Cromarty, who had already eight children, and was big with the ninth, went with her family, and proſtrated herſelf at the king's feet, imploring his mercy for her unhappy lord, who, touched with ſo affecting a ſcene, granted her requeſt.

The two others were executed: Kilmarnock on the ſcaffold ſhewed ſigns of repentance: Balmerino behaved with unſhaken intrepidity, and went to death in his regimentals. The governor of the Tower having, according to cuſtom, cried, Long live king George; Balmerino anſwered, with an elevated voice, Long live king James and his worthy ſon, and died braving death as he had braved his judges.

Executions were daily carried on, and every priſon filled with impeached perſons. A ſecretary of the pretender, named Murray, preſerved his life by diſcloſing ſuch ſecrets as convinced the king of the danger he had eſcaped.

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He diſcovered that in London there was a ſecret party, and that they had furniſhed the prince with large ſums of money; but whether theſe informations were not ſufficiently circumſtanced, or whether the government were fearful of irritating the nation by odious reſearches, they contented themſelves with ſtrictly puniſhing thoſe who were taken in open rebellion. Ten were executed at York, ten at Carliſle, and forty-ſeven at London; and in the month of November, every twentieth man of all the inferior officers and ſoldiers were drawn, and ſuffered death by lot, and the reſt were tranſported to his majeſty's colonies. In the ſame month alſo, ſeventy were executed at Penrith, at Brumpton, and at York, ten at Carliſle, and nine at London. An Engliſh prieſt, who was imprudent enough to aſk of prince Edward the biſhopric of Carliſle, at the time he was in poſſeſſion of that city, was led to the gallows, and executed in his pontifical habits; he harangued the people with vehemence in favour of the family of king James, and prayed to God for all thoſe who had periſhed like him in this quarrel.

But of all theſe unhappy ſufferers, the fate of lord Derwentwater ſeemed moſt to be lamented. His eldeſt brother was beheaded at London 1715, for having fought in the ſame cauſe;

cauſe; when he obliged his ſon to aſcend the ſcaffold, though an infant, he addreſſed him in theſe terms: "Be covered with my blood, "and learn to die for your royal maſter." His youngeſt brother, who had eſcaped and entered into the French ſervice, was included in the ſame condemnation. As ſoon as he knew that he could be uſeful to his prince, he ſet out for England; but the veſſel, in which he embarked with his ſon and ſeveral officers, provided with arms and money, was taken by the Engliſh. He ſuffered the ſame death as his brother, and with the ſame firmneſs, ſaying, "The king of "France would take care of his ſon;" who not being an Engliſh ſubject, was releaſed, and returned to France, where the king made good his father's expectations, by giving him and his ſiſter a penſion.

The laſt peer who ſuffered by the hands of the executioner was lord Lovat; a man eighty years of age. This was he who was the firſt mover of the enterprize;—he had laid the foundation of it ever ſince the year 1740;—the chief mal-contents had aſſembled privately at his houſe;—he engaged to raiſe the clans when prince Edward embarked in 1743;—he employed all the chicanery of the law to defend a remnant of life, which he loſt at laſt on the ſcaffold; but he died with as much greatneſs

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of ſoul, as he had ſhewn dexterity and fineſſe in his conduct He pronounced aloud this verſe of Horace before he received the fatal blow:

Dulce et decorum eſt pro patria mori.

But the moſt ſtrange event, and ſuch as is ſcarcely to be met with out of England, was, that a young ſtudent, named Painter, devoted to the jacobite party, and intoxicated with that fanaticiſm which produces ſo many extraordinary things in fiery imaginations, requeſted to ſuffer in the place of this old man. He even made the moſt preſſing intreaties, but no attention was paid to them. This young man did not perſonally know Lovat, but he knew that he had been the chief of the conſpiracy, and he looked upon him to be a reſpectable and neceſſary man.

The government joined to paſt vengeance, future precautions; an embodied militia was kept up towards the frontiers of Scotland. The Scotch lairds were deprived of their hereditary juriſdictions, which attached their clans to them; and the chiefs, who had remained faithful to government, were indemnified by penſions and other advantages.

The court of France, in its ſolicitude for the fate of prince Edward, had ſent out two ſmall frigates in the month of June, which happily arrived

arrived on the eaſtern coaſts of Scotland, where he had landed at the beginning of this unfortunate enterprize. He was ſought for in vain in this country, and in ſeveral neighbouring iſles of the coaſt of Lochabar. At length, on the 29th of September, the prince arrived by unfrequented roads, and through a thouſand new perils, at the place where he was expected. What is aſtoniſhing, and proves that all hearts were with him, is, that the Engliſh were not appriſed, neither of the arrival of theſe veſſels, nor of their ſtay, nor of their departure. They brought the prince within ſight of Breſt, but they found an Engliſh fleet oppoſite that port. They then ſtood out to ſea again, and returned afterwards upon the coaſt of Britany, on the ſide of Morlaix. Here they found another Engliſh fleet; they hazarded paſſing thro' the enemy's ſhips, and, at laſt, after ſo many dangers and misfortunes, the prince got ſafe to the port of St. Paul de Leon, on the 10th of October 1746, having with him ſome few of his partiſans who had eſcaped the reſearches of the conquerors. Thus ended an adventure, which, in times of knight-erranty, might have proved fortunate, but could not be expected to ſucceed in an age, when military diſcipline, artillery, and, above all, money, in the end, decides every thing.

While

While prince Edward had been wandering up and down in the mountains of Scotland, and ſcaffolds had been prepared every where for his adherents, his conqueror, the duke of Cumberland, was received in triumph at London; the parliament ſettled an annuity on him of twenty-five thouſand pounds per annum, which is about five hundred thouſand livres of France, beſides his uſual revenue,—the Engliſh nation performs itſelf, what ſovereigns do elſewhere.

Charles Edward was not yet at the boundary of his calamities; for having taken refuge in France, and finding himſelf obliged to leave that country to ſatisfy the Engliſh, who inſiſted on it in the treaty of peace, his courage, grown deſperate by ſo many ſhocks, refuſed to yield to the neceſſity of the times. He reſiſted remonſtrances, intreaties, and orders, pretending that the promiſe ought to be kept, which had been made him never to abandon him. His perſon was obliged to be ſeized on; he was arreſted, pinioned, thrown into priſon, and conducted out of France. This was the finiſhing ſtroke to the misfortunes with which fate had oppreſſed a race of kings for three hundred years.

Charles Edward from this time concealed himſelf from all the world:—let private perſons,

ſons, who repine at their little misfortunes, read the hiſtory of this prince and his anceſtors *!

* All theſe circumſtances were written in 1748, under the direction of a perſon who accompanied the prince a conſiderable time, both in his proſperities and adverſities.

The hiſtory of this prince properly falls in with the memoirs of the war of 1741. But it has entirely eſcaped the reſearches of thoſe who have pirated, diſfigured, and ſold a part of that manuſcript.

CHAP. XXVI.

The King of FRANCE failing in his Attempt to reſtore Peace; gains the Battle of LAUFELD. BERGEN-OP-ZOOM taken by Aſſault. The Ruſſians at laſt march to the Aſſiſtance of the Allies.

WHILE this fatal cataſtrophe was tranſacting in England, Louis XV. completed his conqueſts. Unfortunate in all parts where he was not preſent, and victorious in every enterprize in which he accompanied marſhal Saxe: he continually urged a general pacification, which was become abſolutely neceſſary for all the parties concerned in the war, who had now no pretence left for deſtroying each other. It did not appear to be the intereſt of the new ſtadtholder to continue the war at the commencement of an authority not yet thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and which was not ſupported by any fixed ſtipend. But the public animoſity to the court of France was carried ſo far, and the ancient jealouſies were ſo inveterate, that a deputy of the ſtates, when he preſented the ſtadtholder to the States General, on the day of his inſtallation, had ſaid in his

ſpeech, on this occaſion: "That the republic "ſtood in need of a chief, againſt an ambitious "and perfidious neighbour, who made a jeſt of "the faith of treaties;"—ſtrange expreſſions while they were yet negotiating, and for which Louis took no other revenge, than not to make any ill uſe of his victories, which ought to appear ſtill more ſurpriſing.

This violent rancour was univerſally fomented by the court of Vienna, which conſtantly reſented the attempt made to ſtrip Maria Thereſa of her hereditary dominions in violation of treaties. Louis had repented of this procedure; but the Allies were not ſatisfied with this. The court of London, during the conferences at Breda, intrigued with all Europe to raiſe new enemies againſt him.

At length the Engliſh miniſtry produced a formidable ſuccour from the extremities of the North. Elizabeth Petrowna, the daughter of the Czar Peter I. and empreſs of all the Ruſſias, ordered fifty thouſand men to march into Livonia, and promiſed to equip fifty galleys. This armament was to be at the abſolute diſpoſal of the king of England, on the payment of only one hundred thouſand pound ſterling,—it coſt four times as much for eighteen thouſand Hanoverians who ſerved in the Engliſh army. This treaty, which had been concerted long before,

before, could not be concluded until the month of June 1747.

There had been no example hitherto, of ſo great a ſuccour coming from that quarter, and nothing was a ſtronger proof that Czar Peter the Great, in changing the face of affairs throughout his extenſive dominions, had laid the foundation of great alterations in the politics of Europe. But while the very ends of the earth were thus excited againſt the king of France, his conqueſts increaſed. Dutch Flanders was taken as rapidly as the other parts of that province. The grand object with marſhal Saxe always was, the taking of Maeſtricht: this is not one of thoſe places which are eaſily taken by a victorious army, as had been the caſe with moſt of the towns in Italy. After the taking of Maeſtricht, it had been determined to attack Nimeguen, and, in that caſe, it is not to be doubted, but the Dutch would have ſued for peace, before a ſingle Ruſſian could have come to their aſſiſtance; but Maeſtricht could not be beſieged, 'till a conſiderable battle had been fought and completely gained.

The king was at the head of his army, and the Allies were encamped between him and the city. The duke of Cumberland ſtill commanded them: marſhal Bathiani conducted

the Auſtrians, and the prince of Waldeck the Hollanders.

The king choſe to engage; marſhal Saxe obeyed; and the event was the ſame as at the battle of Liege. The French were conquerors; but the Allies were not ſo completely routed, that the grand object of the ſiege of Maeſtricht could be accompliſhed. They retired under the cannon of this city, and left Louis XV. the glory of purſuing, at full liberty, all his operations in Dutch Brabant. The Engliſh troops ſignalized themſelves again in this battle, by making the braveſt reſiſtance. Marſhal Saxe himſelf charged them at the head of ſome brigades. The French loſt the count de Baviere, natural brother of the late emperor Charles VII. the marquiſs de Froulai, a field-marſhal, and a moſt promiſing youth; colonel Dillon, a name in high repute with the Iriſh brigades; brigadier Erlach an excellent officer; the marquiſs d'Autichamp, and the count d'Aubeterre, the brother of him that was killed at the ſiege of Bruſſels. The number of the ſlain was conſiderable; the marquiſs de Bonac, whoſe father had acquired great reputation as an ambaſſador, loſt a leg; the young marquiſs Segur had an arm taken off; he had lain at the point of death for a long time with the wound he had formerly received, and he had but juſt recovered,

when

when this new diſaſter reduced him to the ſame condition.

The king told his father, that his ſon merited to be invulnerable. The loſs was nearly equal on both ſides: five or ſix thouſand men killed or wounded on each part ſignalized this day. The king of France made it famous by his ſpeech to general Ligonier, who was brought to him a priſoner: "Would it not be better, "(ſaid the king to him) to think ſeriouſly of "peace, than to deſtroy ſo many brave peo-"ple?" This general officer of the Engliſh army was born his ſubject, and the king placed him at his table; but natives of Scotland, though officers in the French ſervice, had been put to an ignominious death in England for the unfortunate enterprize of prince Charles Edward.

After every victory; after every conqueſt, Louis XV. always proffered peace, but in vain, no attention was paid to his offers. The Allies depended on the ſuccour of the Ruſſians; on their ſucceſs in Italy; on the alteration in the government of Holland, which would give birth to new armies; on the circles of the empire, and on the ſuperiority of the Engliſh fleets, which conſtantly menaced the poſſeſſions of France, in Aſia and America.

The fruit of this victory was ſtill wanting. It was, therefore, reſolved to lay ſiege to Bergen-op-zoom; a place deemed impregnable, both on account of its being the maſter-piece of the celebrated engineer Cohorn, and becauſe it was continually ſupplied with ammunition, and all kinds of neceſſaries by the river Eſcaut, which forms an arm of the ſea behind it. Beſides theſe advantages, and a numerous garriſon, there were lines near the fortifications, and in theſe lines, a body of troops which could, at every inſtant, relieve the town.

Of all the ſieges that had ever been formed, this appeared the moſt difficult. The conduct of it was given to count de Lowendhal, who had already taken part of Dutch Brabant: this General, a native of Denmark, had been in the Ruſſian ſervice; he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the aſſaults of Oczakow, when the Ruſſians forced the Janiſſaries in that city; he ſpoke almoſt all the languages of Europe; he knew all its courts, their politics, the genius of the ſeveral inhabitants, and their manner of fighting; and had at laſt given the preference to the French ſervice, into which, through the friendſhip of marſhal Saxe, he was received in the rank of lieutenant-general.

The French and the Allies, the beſieged, and even the beſiegers themſelves, all thought

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the enterprize would fail. Lowendhal was almoſt the only perſon who ſeemed to think the ſucceſs certain. Every proper meaſure was taken by the Allies; the garriſon was reinforced; proviſions of all ſorts arrived by the Eſcaut; the artillery was well ſerved; the beſieged made ſeveral ſallies; attacks were repeated by a conſiderable body of troops which protected the lines near the city, and mines were ſprung in ſeveral places. A ſickneſs amongſt the beſiegers, encamped on an unwholeſome ſpot, ſeconded the reſiſtance of the garriſon; contagious diſorders rendered more than twenty thouſand of the French army incapable of ſervice; but their place was eaſily ſupplied. At laſt, after three weeks open trenches, count Lowendhal demonſtrated, that there are occaſions when it is neceſſary to go beyond the eſtabliſhed rules of art. The breaches were not yet practicable; but there were three works ſlightly damaged, the ravelin of Eclem, and two baſtions, one of which was called the Maiden, and the other the Cohorn. The General reſolved to carry the town, by an aſſault on theſe three places at once.

The French, in regular engagements, often find their equals, and ſometimes their maſters in the art of war; but they have no equals in thoſe coups-de-main, and in thoſe rapid enter-

prizes where impetuoſity, agility and ardour ſurmount all obſtacles. The troops having received their orders in whiſpers, and all being ready, in the dead of the night, when the beſieged thought themſelves in ſecurity, they deſcended into the foſſée, and ran to the three breaches; twelve grenadiers alone, made themſelves maſters of the fort of Edem, killing all who reſiſted, and making the reſt throw down their arms. The Maiden and the Cohorn were aſſailed and carried with the ſame vivacity; the troops climbing up in crouds. Every thing is carried; they puſh on to the ramparts, where they form, and enter the city with bayonets fixed. The marquiſs de Lugeac ſeized on the gate leading to the harbour, the commandant of which ſurrendered at diſcretion. All the other forts were ſurrendered in the ſame manner; the old baron de Cronſtrom, who commanded within the town, fled to the lines; the prince of Heſſe Philipſtadt, making ſome reſiſtance in the ſtreets with two regiments, the one Scotch, and the other Swiſs, they were cut to pieces; the reſt of the garriſon fled towards the lines for protection, and ſpread terror wherever they came, 'till the flight became general, and arms, proviſions, baggage, and every thing elſe was abandoned. The city was pillaged by the victorious troops, who,

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in the king's name, ſeized on ſeventeen large barges in the port, laden with ammunition of all ſorts, and refreſhments ſent to the beſieged by different cities of Holland; on the cheſts were written in great characters, "For the "invincible garriſon of Bergen-op-zoom." The king, when he received the news, made count Lowendhal a marſhal of France. The ſurprize was very great at London; but the conſternation throughout Holland was inexpreſſible, and the army of the Allies was thrown into diſmay. Notwithſtanding all this good fortune, it was ſtill very difficult to conquer Maeſtricht: this enterprize was reſerved for the year 1748; marſhal Saxe ſaying, "That "the peace lay in Maeſtricht."

The campaign was opened with the preparations for this important ſiege. Nearly the ſame meaſures were to be taken as at the ſiege of Namur;—to open to themſelves, and ſecure all the avenues,—to force an entire army to retreat, and to render it incapable to act. This was the moſt ſkilful manœuvre of the whole war. The enterprize could not ſucceed, but by engaging the enemy to change their poſition. It was neceſſary to deceive them, and, at the ſame time, to keep the real object a ſecret from their own army; the marches muſt be ſo combined, that each march ſhould deceive the

enemy, and that all should answer the main design. All this was planned by marshal Saxe, and arranged by Monf. de Cremille.

The enemy was at first made to believe, that the French had a design on Breda; the marshal himself conducted a large convoy to Bergen-op-zoom, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and seemed to turn his back on Maestricht; another division marched, at the same time, to Firlemont on the road to Liege, another to Tongres; another threatened Luxembourg, and all at last marched towards Maestricht on the right, and on the left side of the Meuse. The Allies, separated into different bodies, did not discover the marshal's design till it was too late to oppose it. The city found itself invested on both sides of the river, so that no succours could possibly enter. The enemy, to the number of near eighty thousand men, were at Mazeik, and at Ruremonde; and the duke of Cumberland could do no more than be a witness of the taking of Maestricht.

To lower this constant superiority of the French, the Austrians, English and Dutch expected thirty-five thousand Russians instead of fifty thousand, on which number they had at first relied. This succour, which came from such a distance, arrived at last. The Russians were already in Franconia;—an indefatigable set

ſet of men, accuſtomed to the moſt rigid diſcipline; they ſlept upon the bare ground, covered only with a ſingle cloak, and often upon the ſnow; the coarſeſt food ſatisfied them, and at this time they had not four ſick in any one regiment of their army. What might render this ſuccour ſtill more important was, that the Ruſſians never deſert; their religion differing from all the other Latin communions; their language having no relation to the reſt, and their averſion to ſtrangers rendering deſertion, ſo frequent in other armies, totally unknown among them: in a word, it was the ſame nation that had conquered the Turks, and the Swedes. But the Ruſſian ſoldiers, who had become ſuch excellent troops, were at this time in want of good officers;—the national troops knew how to obey, but their captains did not know how to command; and they had no longer a Munich, a Laſci, a Kelly, nor a Lowendhal to head them.

While marſhal Saxe beſieged Maeſtricht, the Allies put all Europe in motion. They prepared for a renewal of the war in Italy with freſh vigour, and the Engliſh had already attacked the French ſettlements in Aſia and America. It will now be neceſſary to obſerve the great exploits they performed with a ſmall force, both in the old and in the new world.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Voyage of Admiral ANSON round the Globe.

FRANCE or Spain cannot be at war with England, but the ſhock given to Europe muſt be felt to the extremities of the earth. If the induſtry and bravery of our modern nations boaſt an advantage over the reſt of the globe, and beyond all antiquity, it is owing to our maritime expeditions. We are not perhaps ſo much aſtoniſhed as might be expected, to ſee fleets ſent out from the ports of inconſiderable provinces, ſcarce known in former times by the ancient civilized nations, one ſingle ſhip of which would have deſtroyed all the fleets of the Greeks and Romans. On one ſide, theſe fleets ſail beyond the Ganges to fight battles with each other in ſight of the moſt powerful empires, which remain the quiet ſpectators of an art and a rage which have not yet reached them; on the other, they go beyond America to conteſt for ſlaves in a new world.

The ſucceſs is ſeldom proportionable to theſe enterprizes, not only becauſe all the obſtacles are not foreſeen, but becauſe the means are ſeldom adequate to the end propoſed.

Admiral

Admiral Anſon's voyage ſhews clearly, what an intelligent and reſolute man may accompliſh, notwithſtanding defective preparations, and exceſſive perils.

We may recollect that when England declared war againſt Spain in 1739, the miniſtry ſent admiral Vernon to the gulph of Mexico; that he there deſtroyed Porto-Bello, and failed in his attempt on Carthagena. George Anſon was ordered at the ſame time to make an irruption into the kingdom of Peru by the South-ſea, in order, to ruin if poſſible, or at leaſt to weaken, at both extremities, the extenſive conqueſts which Spain had made in this part of the world. Anſon was made commodore, that is to ſay, commander of a ſquadron; they gave him five ſhips of the line; a kind of ſmall frigate mounting eight guns, and carrying about one hundred men, and two private ſhips laden with proviſions and merchandize. Theſe two veſſels were to carry on a traffic in favour of the enterprize;—for it is peculiar to the Engliſh, to connect commerce with war. The whole crew of this ſquadron conſiſted only of fourteen hundred men, amongſt whom there were ſeveral old invalids, and two hundred young recruits; this was but a very ſmall force, and they ſailed too late in the year, for this armament did not get to ſea 'till the end of September

ember 1739. The commodore ſteered for the iſle of Madeira, belonging to Portugal. He advanced to the iſles of Cape-Verd, and cruiſed along the coaſts of Braſil; he put into a little iſland called St. Catharine, which is always covered with verdure and with fruits, in the 27th degree of the ſouthern latitude; and afterwards coaſted along the cold and uncultivated country of the Patagonians, of which ſo many fables have been publiſhed. Towards the end of February 1741, he entered the ſtreight of La Maire, beyond one hundred degrees latitude, and got clear of it in five months. The little ſloop of eight guns, named the Trial, was the firſt of the kind that had ventured to double Cape Horn. She afterwards took a Spaniſh ſhip of ſix hundred tons in the South-ſea, whoſe crew could not comprehend their being taken by a bark coming from England into the Pacific ocean.

However, in doubling Cape Horn, after having paſſed the ſtreight of La Maire, Anſon's ſquadron was buffeted by very ſevere ſtorms, and diſperſed. An inveterate ſcurvy likewiſe deſtroyed one half of his people; and the commodore's veſſel alone made the deſart iſland of Fernandes in the South-ſea, in their way back towards the tropic of Capricorn.

The

The rational reader, who muſt obſerve with ſome degree of horror, the prodigious pains that men take to render themſelves and their fellow-creatures unhappy, will learn with ſatisfaction that Anſon, finding in this iſland a moſt ſerene climate and fertile land, ſowed on it the ſeeds of ſeveral plants and fruits, and ſome nuts, which he had taken with him, and which ſoon after covered the whole iſland. Some Spaniards who put in there a few years after, and ſince then had been carried priſoners to England, judged that it could be no other than Anſon who had repaired the evils of war by this generous action, and they thanked him as their benefactor.

He found upon the coaſt a great many ſeations, whoſe males fought deſperately for the females, and his people were aſtoniſhed to ſee a number of goats in the plains, with their ears cut, which ſerved to verify the adventures of one Shelkirſt an Engliſhman, who being left upon this iſland, had lived there ſeveral years; —let me be permitted to ſoften, by the relation of theſe little circumſtances, a melancholy hiſtory, which is only a recital of murders and calamities,—a more intereſting obſervation was, that of the variation of the compaſs, which was found conformable to Halley's *ſyſtem: the needle* followed exactly the route

that

that this great aſtronomer had traced for it;—he gave laws to the magnetic powers, as Newton had done to all nature. And this little ſquadron which traverſed unknown ſeas only with a view of plunder, proved uſeful to philoſophy without knowing it.

Anſon, who was on board a ſixty-gun ſhip, having been joined by another man of war, and by the ſloop, took ſeveral pretty conſiderable prizes in cruiſing off this iſland of Fernandes. But ſoon after, advancing towards the equinoctal line, he ventured to attack the city of Plata in America, ſituated on the coaſt ſo named. He did not make uſe of his men of war, nor yet of the remainder of his equipage, in attempting this bold ſtroke: fifty ſoldiers in a row-boat performed this expedition; they landed in the night; the ſurpriſe was ſudden, and the confuſion and diſorder being redoubled by darkneſs, multiplied and augmented the danger.

The governor, the garriſon, and the inhabitants fled. The governor went up the country; got together about three hundred horſe, and raiſed the militia in the neighbouring place. The fifty Engliſh ſoldiers, in the mean time, for three days together, tranſported to their ſhips, the treaſures they found in the cuſtom-houſe, and in private houſes, without the leaſt interruption:

interruption: the negro ſlaves, who did not fly, (a ſpecies of animals who belong to the firſt that ſeizes on them) aſſiſted in carrying off the riches of their former maſters. The men of war then approached the town, and the governor had neither the courage to return into the city and defend it, nor the prudence to treat with the conquerors for the ranſom of the place, and of the remaining effects; Anſon, therefore, ordered Plata to be reduced to aſhes, and then ſet ſail, having plundered the Spaniards with as much eaſe as they had formerly ſtript the Americans. The loſs ſuſtained by the Spaniards amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred thouſand piaſtres, and the Engliſh gained about one hundred and eighty thouſand; which, added to the prizes taken before, already enriched the ſquadron; and the great number taken off by the ſcurvy, left a larger ſhare for the ſurvivors. This little ſquadron appeared afterwards off Panama, on the Pearl coaſt, and advanced to Acapulco at the back of Mexico. —The government at Madrid were ignorant at this time of the danger they were in of loſing that conſiderable part of the globe.

If admiral Vernon, who had beſieged Carthagena on the oppoſite ſea, had ſucceeded, he might have aſſiſted commodore Anſon. The iſthmus of Panama to the right and left, would

would have been taken by the Engliſh, and the centre of the Spaniſh dominions loſt. The Spaniſh adminiſtration, long ſince appriſed of this, had taken the proper precautions, which an unparalleled misfortune rendered uſeleſs. They had provided againſt Anſon's ſquadron, by a more numerous fleet, with a greater number of men, and more cannon, under the command of Don Joſeph Pizarro. The ſame tempeſts that had aſſailed the Engliſh, diſperſed the Spaniards before they could make the ſtreight of La Maire. They were not only attacked with the ſame ſcurvy which had carried off half the Engliſh; but the proviſions they expected from Buenos Ayres not arriving, famine was added to the ſcurvy. Two of their ſhips, whoſe crews were at the point death, were bulged on the coaſts, and two more were ſhip-wrecked. The commander was obliged to leave his own ſhip at Buenos Ayres, becauſe there were not hands enough left to ſteer her, and this ſhip could not be repaired under three years; ſo that he returned to Spain in 1746, with not quite an hundred men, out of two thouſand ſeven hundred that he carried out;—a fatal event, which ſerves to ſhew that the ſea ſervice is more dangerous than that of the land, ſince independent of engagements, they are always

always liable at ſea to the moſt horrible dangers, and to the moſt dreadful extremities.

The misfortunes of Pizarro left Anſon at full liberty in the South Sea; but the loſs he had ſuſtained of ſo many men, put it out of his power to undertake any conſiderable enterprizes at land, eſpecially ſince he had heard from his priſoners of the failure of the ſiege of Carthagena, and that Mexico had been ſecured.

Anſon then centered all his enterprizes and his great hopes in the ſingle object of taking an immenſe galleon, which the Mexicans ſend every year into the Chineſe ſeas to the iſland of Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, ſo called becauſe they were diſcovered in the reign of Philip II.

This galleon, laden with ſilver, would not ſtir out of port while any Engliſh ſhips were ſeen on the coaſts, nor ſet ſail 'till a conſiderable time after their departure. The commodore, therefore, traverſed the Pacific ocean, and all the climates oppoſite to Africa, between our tropic and the equator. Avarice, rendered honourable by fatigue and danger, made him run over the whole globe with two men of war. The ſcurvy purſued his crew to theſe ſeas; and one of the ſhips proving leaky in ſeveral parts, they were obliged to abandon and to burn her at ſea, leſt ſome of her wreck ſhould be

be carried into any of the Spaniſh iſlands, and prove ſerviceable to them. The remainder of the ſailors and marines belonging to this ſhip were taken on board the Centurion, the commodore's ſhip, which, with two ſloops, were all that remained of his ſquadron. The Centurion, which had ſingly eſcaped ſo many dangers, but was greatly impaired, and had almoſt all her crew ſick, happily for them, put into one of the Marianne iſlands, called Tinian, at this time almoſt entirely deſerted; and, when peopled, it contained ſcarce thirty thouſand ſouls, the greateſt part of whom had periſhed by an epidemical diſeaſe, and the remainder had been tranſported to another iſland by the Spaniards.

Their reſidence at Tinian ſaved the crew. This iſland, more fertile than that of Fernandes, preſented on all ſides, wood, ſpring-water, tame animals, fruits, vegetables, and every thing that was neceſſary for food, for the conveniencies of life, and for refitting a ſhip. But the moſt ſingular thing they found on it was a tree, the taſte of whoſe fruit reſembled the beſt bread;—a real treaſure, which, if it were poſſible to tranſport it into our climates, would be far preferable to thoſe imaginary riches, ſnatched from the extremities of the globe, in the midſt of the greateſt perils. From this iſland, they ranged

ranged over that of Formoſa, which joins to Macoa towards China, at the Entrance of the river Canton, to complete the repair of the only remaining ſhip.

Macoa, for one hundred and fifty years, has belonged to the Portugueſe. The emperor of China having permitted them to build a town in this little iſland, which is only formed on a rock, but it was neceſſary for their commerce. The Chineſe, in all this time, have never violated the privileges granted to the Portugueſe. This fidelity, in my opinion, invalidates the teſtimony of the Engliſh author, who has publiſhed the hiſtory of this expedition; this hiſtorian, in other reſpects, judicious, inſtructive, and a good citizen, never mentions the Chineſe, but as a contemptible people, without fidelity, and without induſtry. As to their induſtry, it is indeed of a different nature from ours; and as to their manners, I imagine we ſhould form our judgment of a powerful nation, rather from its governors than from the populace, at the extremities of a province. It appears to me, that the faith of treaties, obſerved by the government for a century and half, does more honour to the Chineſe than they derive ſhame from the avarice and treachery of a low race of people, inhabiting one of the ſea-coaſts of this vaſt empire. Muſt the moſt ancient and the beſt

beſt governed nation in the world be inſulted, becauſe ſome poor wretches wanted to defraud the Engliſh, by little thefts, and illicit profits of the twenty thouſandth part of what the Engliſh had taken by force from the Spaniards in the Chineſe ſea? It is not long ſince that travellers experienced much greater oppreſſions in more than one country of Europe. What would a Chineſe have ſaid, if, having been ſhipwrecked on the coaſts of England, he had ſeen the inhabitants running in crowds, greedily to ſeize, before his face, on all his ſhipwrecked effects?

The commodore having put his ſhip into very good condition at Macoa, by the aſſiſtance of the Chineſe, and having received on board ſome Indian and Dutch ſailors, who appeared to him to be uſeful hands, he ſet ſail again, pretending to go to Batavia, and even giving it out ſo to his crew; but having, in reality, no other deſign than to return to the Philippine iſlands in purſuit of the galleon, which he preſumed would now be in this latitude. As ſoon as he was out at ſea, he imparted his project to his people. The idea of ſo rich a prize inſpired them with joy and hope, and redoubled their courage: in fine, on the 9th of June 1743, they diſcovered this ſo-much-deſired ſhip advancing towards Manilla; it mounted ſixty-four

four guns, twenty-eight of which were only four pounders. The crew conſiſted of five hundred and fifty men; the treaſure it carried amounted to no more than about fifteen hundred thouſand piaſtres in ſilver, with ſome cochineal; for the whole treaſure, which is commonly of twice that amount, having been divided, had been tranſported in another galleon.

The commodore had only two hundred and forty men on board his ſhip. The captain of the galleon perceiving the enemy, choſe rather to riſk the treaſure, than to loſe his honour by flying from an Engliſhman, and boldly crouded all his ſail to come to engage him.

The rage of ſeizing on riches, which is ſtronger than the duty of preſerving them for a ſovereign; the expertneſs of the Engliſh, and the ſkilful manœuvres of the commodore, gained him the victory. He had only two men killed in the engagement; the galleon loſt ſixty-ſeven, and had eighty-four wounded; yet ſtill the captain had more people left than the commodore, when he ſurrendered. The conqueror returned to Canton with this rich prize; there he ſupported the honour of his country, by refuſing to pay the emperor of China the duties which are laid on all foreign ſhips. He inſiſted that a man of war was not ſubject to any, and his reſolution carried the point. The go-

vernor

vernor of Canton gave him an audience, to which he was conducted through a double file of ſoldiers, to the number of ten thouſand; after which he returned home by the iſlands of Sunda, and by the cape of Good Hope. Having thus made the tour of the world victorious, he landed in England on the 4th of June 1744.

He cauſed the treaſures he had taken to be carried to London in triumph, in thirty-two waggons, amidſt the acclamations of the populace, and the muſic of drums and trumpets. His prizes in ſilver and gold were eſtimated at ten millions of French money, which were the ſole property of the commodore, his officers, ſailors, and ſoldiers; the king claiming no part of the fruit of their fatigues, and of their valour. Theſe riches ſoon circulating in the nation, contributed to enable her to ſupport the immenſe expences of the war.

Some common privateers, however, took more conſiderable prizes in proportion. Captain Talbot, with a ſingle veſſel, took two French ſhips, which he imagined at firſt came from Martinico, and contained only common merchandize; but theſe two Malorine veſſels had been freighted by the Spaniards before war had been declared between France and England, and thought to return home with great *ſafety.* A Spaniard, who had been governor

of

of Peru, was on board one of theſe ſhips, and they were both laden with treaſures, conſiſting of gold, ſilver, diamonds, and the moſt valuable merchandize. This prize was eſtimated at twenty-ſix millions of livres: the privateer's people were ſo aſtoniſhed at the riches they ſaw, that they did not condeſcend, as uſual, to take away the jewels which the Spaniſh paſſengers wore, though there was ſcarce any that had not a ſword mounted in gold, and a ring upon his finger, yet they did not touch one of them; and when Talbot arrived with his prizes ſafe at Kingſale in Ireland, he gave twenty guineas to each of the ſailors, and to all the Spaniſh footmen. The booty was divided between two privateers, one of which had been Talbot's companion, but left him to purſue, though without ſucceſs, another veſſel, named the Eſperance, which was the richeſt of the three. Each ſailor of the two privateers had eight hundred and fifty guineas for his ſhare. The two captains had each three thouſand five hundred guineas; and the remainder was divided among the owners of the privateers, after it had been tranſported in triumph from Briſtol to London in forty-three waggons. The greateſt part of this money was lent to the king himſelf, who paid intereſt for it to the proprietors;—this ſingle prize was worth more than a year's re-

venue of all Flanders. One may judge how far ſuch adventures encouraged the Engliſh to go a cruiſing, and raiſed the hopes of one part of the nation, who ſaw ſuch prodigious advantages ariſing from the public calamities of war.

CHAP. XXVIII.

LOUISBOURG. Sea Engagements. Immenſe Prizes made by the Engliſh.

ANOTHER enterprize, begun later than that of admiral Anſon, ſhews what a nation may accompliſh which is at once commercial and warlike. I mean the ſiege of Louiſbourg. This was not an operation of the cabinet-council at London; it was the fruit of the valour of ſome private merchants in New England. This colony, one of the moſt flouriſhing belonging to the Engliſh nation, is ſituated at about eighty leagues diſtance from the iſland of Louiſbourg or Cape Breton; an iſland at that time of vaſt importance to the French, being ſituated towards the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, which is the key to their poſſeſſions in North America. This territory had been confirmed to France by the peace of Utrecht. The *cod-fiſhery* carried on in theſe parts, was the

ſource of an advantageous commerce, which employed annually above five hundred veſſels belonging to Bayonne, St. Jean de Luz, Havre-de-Grace, and other ſea-ports in France; and they brought home at leaſt three thouſand tuns of oil proper for a variety of manufactures. It was a nurſery for ſailors; and the commerce in oil, joined to that of the cod-fiſhery, gave employment to ten thouſand men, and circulated ten millions of money.

A merchant, of the name of Vaughan, propoſed to his fellow-countrymen of New England to raiſe troops to beſiege Louiſbourg. This idea was received with applauſe; and a lottery was ſet on foot, the produce of which paid a ſmall army of four thouſand men, which was raiſed, accoutred, and provided with tranſports at the ſole expence of the inhabitants. They even nominated a General, but it was neceſſary to have the conſent of the court of London, and the aſſiſtance of ſome ſhips of the line. The requiſition was no ſooner made than granted. The court ſent admiral Warren with four men of war to protect this enterprize of a whole nation.

Louiſbourg might have been defended, and rendered all theſe efforts uſeleſs, if it had been provided with ſufficient ammunition; but it is the fate of moſt ſettlements at a diſ-

tance, that we very rarely ſend them what is neceſſary in proper time. On the firſt news of the preparations making againſt this colony, the French miniſter of the marine department, ſent off a ſixty-four-gun ſhip, laden with every thing that was wanting at Louiſbourg. This ſhip arrived juſt in time to be taken, at the entrance of the harbour, by the Engliſh. The governor of the town, after a vigorous defence of fifty days, was obliged to ſurrender. The Engliſh preſcribed their own terms; one of which was, that they themſelves would tranſport the garriſon and all the inhabitants, amounting to two thouſand people, to France. Some months after they were accordingly ſurpriſed at Breſt, to ſee an entire French colony, left upon their ſtrand by Engliſh ſhips.

The taking of Louiſbourg was beſides fatal to the French Eaſt-India company, which had undertaken to farm the fur trade of Canada, ſo that their ſhips, on their return from India, often came and wartered at Louiſbourg. Two large ſhips belonging to the company arrived there immediately after it was taken, and ſurrendered. This was not all—a fatality, not leſs ſingular, farther enriched the new poſſeſſors of Cape Breton,—a large ſhip, named the Eſperance, which had eſcaped the privateers, thought, like the others, that ſhe ſhould be

ſafe in the harbour of Louiſbourg, and, like them, was loſt. The lading of theſe three ſhips, which came from the heart of Aſia and America only to ſurrender themſelves in this manner, amounted to twenty-five millions of livres. If war for a long time has been allowed to be a game at chance, we may ſay that the Engliſh, in one year, won at this game about three millions ſterling. The conquerors not only made ſure of keeping poſſeſſion of Louiſbourg for ever, but they made preparations for ſeizing on all New France.

It ſhould ſeem, however, as if the Engliſh ought to have undertaken more important maritime enterprizes; for they had, at this time, ſix men of war of one hundred guns, thirteen of ninety, fifteen of eighty, twenty-ſix of ſeventy, thirty-three of ſixty, thirty-ſeven from fifty to fifty-four, and under this rate, from the largeſt frigates of forty guns down to the leaſt, they reckoned one hundred and fifteen; they had beſides fourteen bomb-veſſels, and ten fire-ſhips; in all, two hundred and ſixty-three ſhips of the line, beſides letter-of-mark ſloops and tranſports:—this navy was provided with forty thouſand ſailors. No nation ever poſſeſſed ſuch a maritime force. All theſe ſhips could not be armed at once, far from it; the number of ſoldiers was too diſproportionate, but notwith-

ſtanding this, in the years 1746 and 1747, the Engliſh had, at one time, a fleet in the Iriſh and Scotch ſeas, another at Spithead, another in the Eaſt-Indies, another off Jamaica, another at Antigua, and they ſtill kept fitting out new fleets, as occaſion required.

France was obliged to act on the defenſive by ſea during the whole war, having in all but about thirty-five ſhips of the line to oppoſe this formidable power. It became every day more difficult to ſupport the colonies. If large ſupplies were not ſent to them, they remained entirely at the mercy of the Engliſh fleets; if the convoys ſet ſail from France, or from the iſlands, they ran the riſk of being taken with the ſhips that eſcorted them. In fact, the French ſuffered occaſionally the moſt terrible loſſes; for a fleet of merchant-men, coming to France from Martinico, convoyed by four men of war, was met by an Engliſh fleet; thirty of the merchant-ſhips were taken, ſunk, or run aſhore; and two of the men of war, one of which was an eighty-gun ſhip, fell into the hands of the enemy.

A fruitleſs attempt was made to paſs to North America, in order to attempt the retaking of Cape Breton, or to deſtroy the Engliſh colony of Annapolis in Nova-Scotia. The duke d'Anville, of the houſe of Rochefoucault,

was

was ſent there with fourteen ſhips of the line; he was a man of great bravery, and endowed with that politeneſs which the French alone preſerve amidſt the ferocity which is remarkable in the ſea-ſervice; but his bodily ſtrength was not anſwerable to the greatneſs of his ſoul. He died on the Savage coaſt of Chibocton, after having ſeen his fleet diſperſed by a violent ſtorm. Several of the ſhips were loſt, others were driven ſo far from the reſt, that they fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

However, it often happened, that expert officers, who convoyed fleets of French merchant-men, knew how to conduct them home in ſafety, notwithſtanding the numerous fleets of the enemy.

A very ſucceſsful inſtance of this was given in the ſkilful conduct of Monſ. du Bois de la Motte, at that time captain of a man of war, who, as he was conducting a convoy of eighty ſail from the French American iſlands, was attacked by an entire ſquadron, and had the dexterity to draw all the enemy's fire upon himſelf, while his convoy ſlipt away, which he afterwards rejoined, and conducted to Port Royal in St. Domingo. From thence he engaged the enemy a ſecond time, and brought home to France upwards of ſixty ſail; but of

courſe the Engliſh navy in the end, deſtroyed that of France, and ruined its commerce.

One of their moſt ſignal advantages at ſea was the Engagement off Cape Finiſterre; an engagement in which they took ſix of the king's large ſhips, and ſeven belonging to the Eaſt-India company, armed like men of war, four of which ſtruck during the combat, and the three others afterwards; the crews amounting to four thouſand men.

London is full of merchants and ſea-faring men, who intereſt themſelves much more in ſucceſſes at ſea, than in all that paſſes in Germany or Flanders. The tranſports of joy were unparalleled in that city, when the ſame Centurion, which had been ſo celebrated for ſailing round the world, arrived in the Thames, and brought the news of the victory off Finiſterre, gained by the ſame Anſon, (who, with great juſtice, had been created vice-admiral) in conjunction with admiral Warren. Twenty-two waggons arrived at London ſoon after with the gold, ſilver, and other effects taken from the French fleet. The loſs of theſe effects, together with the ſhips, was eſtimated at more than twenty millions of French livres.

Of the ſilver taken at this time, ſome money was coined, the legend of which was the word Finiſterre,

Finiſterre, which ſerved both for a flattering remembrance of the victory, and an encouragement to the people. It was a glorious imitation of the ancient cuſtom among the Romans of engraving in this manner on their current money, the moſt remarkable events of the empire. This victory was not ſo ſurpriſing as it was happy and uſeful. The admirals Warren and Anſon had fought with ſeventeen ſhips of the line, againſt ſix of the French, the beſt of which, in point of conſtruction, was not equal to the ſmalleſt ſhip of the Engliſh fleet.

But it was really aſtoniſhing that the marquiſs de la Joncquiere, who commanded this ſquadron, after having maintained the engagement for a long time, ſhould be able to manage ſo as to let his convoy, which he had brought from Martinico, eſcape. The captain of the Windſor expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms in a letter on the ſubject of this engagement: "I "never ſaw better behaviour than that of the "French commodore: and, to ſay the truth, "all the officers of that nation ſhewed great "bravery, not one of them ſurrendered 'till it "was impoſſible to work the ſhip any longer." The French had now only ſeven ſhips remaining in theſe ſeas, deſtined to convoy the merchant-ſhips from the American iſles, under the

command of Monſieur de l'Eſtanduere. They were met by fourteen Engliſh ſhips; they fought, as at Finiſterre, with the ſame valour and the ſame fortune. Numbers carried the day, and admiral Hawke conveyed ſix of the ſeven French ſhips into the Thames.

France had then but one man of war remaining; and the miſmanagement of cardinal Fleury in neglecting the marine, was acknowledged in its full extent. This fault is not eaſily repaired; ſometimes an excellent land army has been formed in two or three years by experienced, aſſiduous generals; but it takes a long time to eſtabliſh a formidable maritime force.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

State of Affairs in INDIA, MADRASS, and PONDICHERRY. The Expedition of LA BOURDONNAIE; the Conduct of DU PLEIX, &c.

WHILE the Engliſh were carrying their victorious arms over ſo many ſeas, and the whole globe was become the theatre of war, they began to feel its effects in their colony of Madraſs. A perſon named Mahè de la Bourdonnaie, who was at once a merchant and a ſoldier, avenged the honour of the French flag in the heart of Aſia.

To render this event more diſtinct, it is neceſſary to give ſome idea of India; of the European commerce in that rich and extenſive country, and of the rivalry ſubſiſting among them, which is often kept up by force of arms.

Though ſuch multitudes of Europeans have gone to India, where they have eſtabliſhed ſettlements, and carried on war, by which ſeveral have amaſſed immenſe fortunes, few have applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the antiquities of that country, formerly more famous for its laws

laws and ſciences, than for its riches, which are now become the only object of our voyages.

An Engliſh gentleman*, who reſided thirty years in Bengal, and who underſtands the ancient and modern languages of the Bramins, has deſtroyed the vain collection of errors which has hitherto filled our hiſtories of India †; at the ſame time he has confirmed the opinions which a ſmall number of the learned had long entertained. This country, without diſpute, was the moſt early civilized in the world; even the learned Chineſe give up the ſuperiority. The moſt ancient monuments that the emperor Camhi had collected in his cabinet were all Indian. The learned and indefatigable Engliſhman, who in the year 1754, copied their moſt ancient written law, named the Shaſta, prior to their Wedam, aſſerts, that at that time it was four thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix years old; and, if we can believe him, this book of laws, the moſt ancient in the world, was, a long time before that period, religiouſly preſerved by tradition, as well as by ancient hieroglyphics.

* Mr. Holwell.

† "I have ſtudied, (ſays he) all that has been written "concerning the Indians, from Arrian down to the Abbé "Guion, and have found nothing but errors and fal"ſhoods."

It

It is a common practice in all the hiſtories of India, copied without examining one another, to divide all the Indian nations into Mahometan idolaters; yet it is affirmed that the Bramins and Banians, far from being idolaters, have always acknowledged one GOD, creator, whom their books every where ſtile the ETERNAL, and they ſtill reverence him amidſt all the ſuperſtitions which disfigure their ancient religion. We have hitherto believed, on ſeeing the monſtrous figures expoſed in their temples for public worſhip, that they adore devils, although they never heard of the devil; theſe ſymbolical repreſentations being only emblems of the virtues. They generally deſcribe virtue as an handſome woman, with ten arms to reſiſt temptations. She wears a crown, is mounted on a dragon, and holds in one of her right hands a pike, reſembling at the point, a flower-de-luce. This is not a proper place to enter into a detail of all their ancient ceremonies, which they have preſerved even to our times, nor to explain the Shatabad, and the Wedam, nor to ſhew how far the modern Bramins have degenerated from their anceſtors; yet notwithſtanding their ſubjection to the Tartars, and the great avarice and debauchery of the Europeans ſettled on their coaſts, have in general made them wicked and deceitful; the author, who lived long

amongſt

amongſt them, obſerves, that the Bramins, who are not corrupted by converſing with the European merchants, nor by intriguing at the courts of the nabobs, "Afford the pureſt mo-" del of true piety, which is to be found on the " face of the earth *."

The climate of India, is, without doubt, the moſt favourable of any to human nature; nor is it there uncommon to ſee people ſix ſcore years of age. The wretched narratives of our India company, inform us, that in a battle between two tyrants of that country, one of them named Anaverdikan, whom we cauſed to be aſſaſſinated by a treacherous attendant, was one hundred and ſeven years old, which did not prevent him however from rallying his troops three times. The emperor Aurengzebe lived above one hundred years; and Niſan Elmoluk, grand chancellor of the empire under Mahomet Schah, who was dethroned and reſtored by Shah Nadir, died upwards of one hundred years old; ſo that whoever lives ſo-

* The high prieſt of the iſland of Cheringam, in the province of Arcote, who juſtified the chevalier Law, againſt the accuſations of governor du Pleix, was an old man, aged one hundred years, and reſpected for his incorruptible virtue; he underſtood the French language, and was of great ſervice to the Eaſt-India company. It was he that tranſlated the Ezour-Vedam; the manuſcript of which I ſent to the royal library.

berly in that country enjoys a long and healthful life.

If the Indians had remained unknown to the Tartars and to us, they would have been the happieſt people in the world. Though the ancient immemorial cuſtom of their philoſophers ending their days upon a pile of burning wood, in hopes of again beginning a new life; and that of the women being burned on the bodies of their huſbands, in order to be born with them again under a different ſhape, prove them to be very ſuperſtitious, yet it ſhews a courage to which we do not approach. Formerly, they dreaded killing their fellow-creatures, but had no fear of deſtroying themſelves; indeed, the women of the tribe of Bramins, continue to burn themſelves, but not ſo frequently as before. Our penitents afflict their bodies, but thoſe deſtroy them; and both act againſt the intention of nature, with the notion that this body will thereby be rendered more happy.

The averſion to ſpill the blood of beaſts in that ancient nation, increaſed that of deſtroying mankind; but ſuch mildneſs of manners made them always very bad ſoldiers; and it is to that tenderneſs that their misfortunes and ſlavery owe their origin. The Tartar government, preciſely the ſame with that of our ancient grand fiefs, prevails in moſt of thoſe nations, ſubjecting

jecting them to little plunderers, who are named by the viceroys, while the latter are appointed by the emperor. "Such is the polity which "was eſtabliſhed in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, "by the Goths, Vandals, Franks and Turks, "who all came originally from Tartary,—a "government entirely contrary to that of the "ancient Romans, and ſtill more ſo to that of "the Chineſe; the beſt in the world, next to "that of the ſmall number of civilized ſtates, "who have preſerved their liberty."

The Marattas are almoſt the only free people in that extenſive country; they inhabit the mountains behind the Malabar coaſt, between Goa and Bombay, for the ſpace of ſeven hundred miles and upwards. They are the Swiſs of India; like the Swiſs, they are warriors, leſs poliſhed, but more numerous, and therefore more formidable. The viceroys, who are often at war with one another, purchaſe their aſſiſtance, and even while they pay them, dread their power.

The vaſt ſuperiority of genius and ſtrength which the Europeans poſſeſs above the oriental Aſiatics, is ſufficiently proved by the conqueſts gained by our people in thoſe nations, and for which they are conſtantly fighting with each other. The Portugueſe, who were the firſt that ſettled on the coaſts of India, carried their arms

arms and religion to the extent of more than two thouſand leagues; having factories and forts which mutually aſſiſted each other, from the cape of Good Hope, as far as Malucca. When Philip II. was maſter of Portugal, he might have formed an empire in India, at leaſt as advantageous as that of Mexico and Peru, and had it not been for the courage and induſtry of the Dutch, and afterwards of the Engliſh, the pope would have conferred more real biſhoprics in thoſe immenſe territories than he beſtows in Italy, and have drawn from thence more money than he can from all the people that are ſubject to the papal chair.

It is well known that the Dutch have the largeſt ſettlements in that part of the world; which extend from the iſlands of Sunda to the coaſt of Malabar; next to them the Engliſh, who are powerful on the two coaſts of the Peninſula of India, and as far as Bengal; and the French, who came laſt, have the ſmalleſt ſhare, ſo that they have not been more fortunate in the Eaſt-Indies, than they were in the Weſt.

The French company, which was eſtabliſhed by Louis XIV. was diſſolved in 1712, and again ſet on foot at Pondicherry in 1720, as has been obſerved, in a very flouriſhing condition; it had a great many ſhips, ſome clerks, directors, and even artillery and ſoldiers; but it never could

could by its trade yield the ſmalleſt dividend to the proprietors; and, what is remarkable, this is the only trading company in Europe that comes under the ſame predicament; for, in fact, neither proprietors nor creditors have received any payment but what aroſe from the king's grant of part of the duties on tobacco, which is entirely foreign to their trade; by that alone it ſucceeded at Pondicherry, for the returns in money were applied to augment its funds, to fortify and embelliſh the town, and procure uſeful allies among the Indians.

Du Pleix, a man as active as intelligent, and as ſtudious as laborious, had a long time preſided in the factory of Chandernagor upon the Ganges, in the rich and fertile province of Bengal, about thirteen hundred miles from Pondicherry; he had there formed a conſiderable ſettlement, had built a town, and fitted out fifteen ſhips;—this was a conqueſt by genius and induſtry, greatly preferable to all other. The company then found it to their intereſt to allow every individual to trade for his own benefit; the manager in their ſervice acquired an immenſe fortune, while every body became enriched; he likewiſe made another ſettlement at Patna, going up the Ganges, within thirty leagues of Benares, the ancient ſchool of the Brachmans.

So

So many ſervices juſtly procured him the government of the French ſettlements at Pondicherry in the year 1742, when the war broke out between England and France. It has already been remarked that the effects of theſe wars are always felt to the extremities of the world, in Aſia and in America.

The city of Madraſs, in the province of Arcot, which belongs to the Engliſh, is about ninety miles diſtant from Pondicherry, and that ſettlement is of as great conſequence to England as Pondicherry is to France. Theſe two cities are rivals, but the commerce between that part of the world and ours, and the European induſtry is ſo active, and ſo much ſuperior to that of the Indians, that theſe two colonies might enrich themſelves without hurting each other.

Du Pleix, as governor of Pondicherry, and commander in chief of the French nation in India, had propoſed a neutrality to the Engliſh company, than which nothing could be more ſuitable to traders, who ought not to ſell ſilks, muſlins, and pepper, ſword-in-hand, as commerce is intended to be the tie of nations, to comfort the earth, and not to lay it waſte. Humanity and reaſon dictated this propoſal, rejected by pride and avarice. The Engliſh promiſed themſelves, not without ſome probability,

bility, to become conquerors in the Indies, as in other parts of the globe, and thereby to put a period to the French East-India company.

Mahé de la Bourdonnaie, like the Du Quesnes, the Barts, and the Du Gue Trouins, was capable of doing a great deal with little, and was no less conversant in commerce than he was skilful in sea affairs. He was governor of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, by the king's appointment, but under the direction of the company;—those islands had flourished gre tly under his administration. In 1746, he armed nine ships of war, with which he sailed from Bourbon, having on board about two thousand three hundred white, and eight hundred black troops, all disciplined by himself, and whom he had made excellent engineers. An English squadron, under the command of admiral Barnet, was cruising in those seas, and not only defended Madrass, but molested Pondicherry, and took a great number of prizes;—this fleet he attacked and dispersed on the 6th of July; and then, without loss of time, went to lay siege to Madrass.

Several deputies came to represent to him, that it was not allowed to attack the territories of the Great Mogul; they were in the right, for it is the greatest weakness in the Asiatic monarchs to suffer it, and the height of European

pean audacity to attempt it. The French, however landed without reſiſtance, and planted their cannon before the walls of a place badly fortified, with a garriſon of only five hundred ſoldiers for its defence. The Engliſh ſettlement conſiſted of fort St. George, where the magazines were all kept in the White-Town inhabited only by Europeans, and of the Black-Town peopled by merchants and mechanics from all the nations of India, Jews, Banians, Armenians, Mahometans, and Pagans, alſo red Indians, and others of a copper colour. This multitude amounted to fifty thouſand ſouls. The governor was ſoon forced to ſurrender, and the ranſom of the city was valued at eleven hundred thouſand pagodas, which is eſtimated at nine millions of French livres.

Bourdonnaie had poſitive orders from the miniſtry, "Not to hold any of the conqueſts "that he might make in India;"—orders as inconſiderate, perhaps, as all are which are given at a diſtance from the ſcene of action, on ſubjects that are not therefore within the reach of knowledge. However, he punctually obeyed his inſtructions, and received hoſtages and ſureties for the ranſom of this conqueſt, which he did not keep. Never was known more punctual obedience, accompanied with greater ſervice. He had the merit alſo of eſtabliſhing order

order in the town; of calming the terrors of the women, (who had all fled for refuge into the churches and pagodas) to deliver them with honour from their fears, and, at laſt, to make the nation victorious, reſpectable, and eſteemed by the conquered.

It has almoſt always been the fate of France, that its enterprizes, and even ſucceſſes, out of its frontiers, have become fatal. Du Pleix, governor of the India company, had the misfortune to be jealous of Bourdonnaie; he annulled the capitulation; ſeized his ſhips, and would even have put him under arreſt.

The Engliſh, and the inhabitants of Madraſs, who relied upon the law of nations, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this infraction of the treaty, and word of honour, given by Bourdonnaie. But their indignation was raiſed to its higheſt pitch, when Du Pleix deſtroyed the Black-Town, and laid it in ruins. This piece of barbarity was greatly injurious to the innocent Coloniſts, without being of the leaſt advantage to the French. The ranſom, which ſhould have been received, was loſt, and the French name became deteſtable throughout all India.

In the midſt of the diſcontent, reproaches, and bad humour which were occaſioned by ſuch a behaviour, Du Pleix made the council and principal citizens of Pondicherry, who were under

under his command, ſign the moſt bitter memorials againſt his rival: accuſing him of having demanded too ſmall a ranſom for Madraſs, and of having received, for himſelf, preſents of too great a value.

At laſt, as a reward for ſuch a ſignal ſervice, the conqueror of Madraſs, on his arrival at Paris, was ſhut up in the baſtile, where he remained three years and a half, while they were ſending to India for evidences to appear againſt him; nor was he permitted to ſee his wife and children:—thus cruelly puniſhed on ſuſpicion only, he contracted a mortal diſtemper in the priſon; but before it put a period to his life he was declared innocent by the commiſſion of the council appointed for his trial. It was doubted whether it afforded him greater comfort or grief, in being juſtified ſo late, and to ſo little purpoſe. Nor was any recompence made to his family by the court; indeed the public beſtowed upon him the flattering title of La Bourdonnaie, the avenger of France, and the victim of envy.

But ſoon after, the ſame public forgave his enemy Du Pleix, when he defended Pondicherry againſt the Engliſh, who beſieged it by ſea and land, under the command of admiral Boſcawen, who attacked it with about four thouſand Engliſh and Dutch ſoldiers, and as many Indians, reinforced

reinforced by the greated part of the ſailors from his fleet, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail. Mr. Du Pleix then acted as commander, engineer, and commiſſary of ſtores; his indefatigable care was ſeconded by Mr. de Buſſi, who often repulſed the beſiegers at the head of a body of volunteers. All the officers there gave proofs of courage which deſerved the gratitude of their country, ſo that the capital of the French colonies, which was thought to be unable to reſiſt, was, for this time, ſaved. This was one of the operations which at laſt procured the grand ribband of St. Louis to Mr. Du Pleix; an honour which had never been confered on any body out of the military ſervice. We ſhall ſee in what manner he became the protector and conqueror of the Indian viceroys, and what cataſtrophe followed too much glory.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

The Peace of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

IN this flow and ebb of ſucceſſes and loſſes, almoſt common in every war, Louis XV. continued to be victorious in the Low Countries. Maeſtricht was already on the point of ſurrendering to marſhal Saxe, who beſieged it in the beſt form ever attempted by any General, and from thence all was open to Nimuegen. The Dutch were under great conſternation, there being near thirty-five thouſand of their ſoldiers priſoners in France, and more dreadful diſaſters than thoſe of the year 1672 ſeemed to threaten that republic. But what France gained on one ſide, was loſt on the other;—its colonies were expoſed,—its commerce ruined, and its navy deſtroyed. As all the contending nations were ſufferers, ſo all of them ſtood in need of a peace, as it happened in former wars. Near ſeven thouſand trading veſſels belonging to France, Spain, England and Holland, had been taken in the courſe of their reciprocal depredations; from hence it may be concluded, that above fifty thouſand families had ſuſtained conſiderable loſſes; additional to theſe miſ-

fortunes, was the vaſt number of ſlain, and the difficulty of raiſing recruits, which happens in every war. One half of Germany and Italy, together with the Low Countries, had been laid waſte; and to increaſe and prolong ſo many diſaſters, the money of England and Holland had engaged thirty-five thouſand Ruſſians who were then in Franconia; ſo that the ſame troops, which had conquered the Turks and Swedes, were about to approach the frontiers of France.

But what particularly diſtinguiſhes this war, is, that after every victory, gained by Louis XV. he made offers of peace, which had never been accepted; at laſt, indeed, when they ſaw Maeſtricht was going to fall after Bergen-op-zoom, and that Holland was in danger, the enemy, in their turn, ſued for peace *, which was become neceſſary to all parties.

The marquiſs de St. Severin, one of the plenipotentiaries from France, at the congreſs of Aix-la-Chapelle, began by declaring, that he

* Every other hiſtorian contradicts this aſſertion of M. Voltaire, by maintaining, that though none of the belligerent powers could conceal their hearty deſire to terminate the war; yet all the meaſures taken for holding the congreſs which produced the peace of 1748, were in conſequence of the repeated inſtances of the miniſters of Louis XV. at the ſeveral courts of Europe, but particularly at thoſe of Vienna, the Hague and London.

came

came to fulfil the words of his maſter: "That "he would make peace not as a merchant, but "as a king."

As Louis XV. wanted nothing for himſelf, he uſed his intereſt for his allies; by that peace, he confirmed the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his relation Don Carlos; he likewiſe ſettled his ſon-in-law Don Philip, in Parma, Placentia and Guaſtella; and his ally the duke of Modena, ſon-in-law to the duke of Orleans, formerly regent, was reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of his territories, which he had loſt in eſpouſing the cauſe of France;—Genoa again enjoyed all its rights. Thus it appeared more honourable, and even more advantageous to the court of France, to think of nothing but the good of its allies, than to inſiſt upon having two or three towns in Flanders, which would only have been an eternal object of jealouſy.

England, which had no other particular intereſt in this general war, beſides that of one ſhip, loſt in it a great deal of blood and treaſure, and the affair of that ſhip remained, after all, in the ſame ſituation. The king of Pruſſia was the greateſt gainer; he retained the conqueſt of Sileſia, at a time when all the powers agreed not to ſuffer the aggrandizing of any prince. The duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, ſtood next to the king of Pruſſia, in point of

59634

advantage, the queen of Hungary having given him part of the Milaneſe for his alliance.

After this peace, France re-eſtabliſhed itſelf in the ſame manner as after the peace of Utrecht, and became ſtill more flouriſhing. At that time, the Chriſtian part of Europe was divided into two great parties, who watched one another, and who, on each ſide, ſupported that balance which had been the pretext for ſo many wars, though it ought to inſure continual peace. The ſtates of the empreſs queen of Hungary, and part of Germany, Ruſſia, England, Holland, and Sardinia, formed one of theſe grand factions, while France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, Pruſſia and Sweden compoſed the other. As all the powers continued in arms, a laſting tranquility was expected even from the fear with which one half of Europe ſeemed to inſpire the other.

Louis XIV. was the firſt who kept up thoſe numerous forces, which obliged the other princes to make the ſame efforts; ſo that after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the Chriſtian powers of Europe had about a million of men under arms, perhaps to the detriment of arts and neceſſary profeſſions, but particularly to agriculture. They flattered themſelves that for a long time there would be no aggreſſor, becauſe all the ſtates were armed to defend

defend themſelves; but they flattered themſelves in vain.

CHAP. XXXI.

The State of EUROPE in 1755. LISBON deſtroyed. Conſpiracies and Puniſhments in SWEDEN. Dreadful Wars for ſome Territories towards CANADA. The taking of PORT-MAHON by Marſhal RICHELIEU.

EUROPE never enjoyed ſuch happy times as from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, to about the year 1755. Trade flouriſhed from Peterſbourg even to Cadiz; the fine arts were every where reſpected; a general harmony prevailed among all nations, and Europe reſembled a large family reconciled after a quarrel. The freſh troubles of Europe ſeemed to be announced by earthquakes, which were felt in ſeveral countries, but in a more terrible manner at Liſbon in Portugal. One third of that city was thrown down upon its innabitants, and thirty thouſand men deſtroyed. This ſhock extended into Spain, where the ſmall town of Setubal was almoſt deſtroyed, others damaged; and the ſea riſing

higher than the quay at Cadiz, ſwallowed up all that came in its way.

The earthquakes which ſhook Europe, were likewiſe felt in Africa; and the ſame day that the inhabitants of Liſbon periſhed, the earth opened near Morocco, where a whole tribe of Arabs was buried in the abyſs; and the cities of Fez and Mequinez were ſtill greater ſufferers than Liſbon.

This ſcourge, ought, in all appearance, to have made mankind conſider, that they were, in fact, victims to death, and ſhould therefore comfort one another. The Portugueſe believed that the mercy of God might be obtained by burning ſome Jews, and other perſons, in what they call an Auto-da-fé, or act of faith, which other nations regarded as an act of barbarity; but even from that time, meaſures were taken, in other parts of Europe, to dye, with blood, that earth which had been ſhaking under our feet.

The firſt fatal cataſtrophe happened in Sweden; that kingdom had become a republic, of which the king was only a firſt magiſtrate, being obliged to conform to the plurality of voices in the ſenate. The ſtates, compoſed of the nobility, burgeſſes, clergy, and peaſants, could indeed alter the laws of the ſenate, but the king did not poſſeſs that power.

Some

Some noblemen, more attached to the king than to the new laws of the country, conſpired againſt the ſenate in favour of the monarch; the plot was diſcovered, and the conſpirators were puniſhed with death. That which might have been deemed a virtuous action, in a ſtate purely monarchical, was looked upon as an infamous treaſon in a country become free;—thus the ſame actions are crimes or virtues, according to the times or places of their being put in execution! June, 1756.

This event alienated the Swedes from their king, and it contributed afterwards to cauſe war to be declared (as we ſhall ſee) againſt Frederic, king of Pruſſia, whoſe ſiſter was married to the king of Sweden.

From that period, the revolutions, which the ſame king of Pruſſia and his enemies were preparing, reſembled a flame concealed under the aſhes; in fact, it ſoon blazed forth, and ſpread over Europe, but the firſt ſparks came from America.

A ſlight quarrel between France and England, for ſome deſart lands towards Acadia, gave riſe to a new ſyſtem of politics among all the ſovereigns of Europe. It is proper to obſerve, that this quarrel was the fruit of the negligence of all the miniſters, who, in 1712 and

1713, concluded the treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty, France had ceded to England, Acadia, (Novia Scotia) adjoining to Canada, with all its ancient limits; but they had not ſpecified what were thoſe limits, to which indeed they were ſtrangers. This is a fault which has never been committed in contracts between individuals, and debates neceſſarily aroſe from that omiſſion. Were philoſophy and juſtice to meddle in the quarrels of men, they would make them ſee, that the French and th ngliſh diſputed for a country over which they had not the ſmalleſt right; but thoſe firſt principles never enter into the affairs of the world. A ſimilar diſpute among common merchants would have been adjuſted in two hours by arbitration; but among crowned heads, the ambition or caprice of a commiſſary is ſufficient to overthrow twenty ſtates. The Engliſh were accuſed of ſeeking the entire deſtruction of the French trade in that part of America. As they were greatly ſuperior by their rich and numerous colonies in North America, ſo they were ſtill more ſo at ſea by their fleets; and having deſtroyed the navy of France in the year 1741, they flattered themſelves that nothing could reſiſt their power, either in the new world, or on our ſeas; but they were ſoon undeceived.

In

In 1755, they began by attacking the French on the borders of Canada *; and without any declaration of war, took above three hundred merchant-ſhips, as if they had been only ſmuggling cutters; they likewiſe went ſo far as to take veſſels belonging to other nations which were carrying goods to the French. At this conjuncture, the king of France acted quite differently from Louis XIV. he contented himſelf with immediately demanding juſtice, and only allowed his ſubjects to fit out cruizers. Louis XIV. had often ſpoken to other courts with ſuperiority, but Louis XV. made all the courts ſenſible of the ſuperiority affected by the Engliſh; and if Louis XIV. had been reproached for an ambition tending towards univerſal monarchy upon land, Louis XV. made known the real ſuperiority aſſumed by the Engliſh on the ſeas.

In the mean time, the French monarch promiſed himſelf ſome vengeance at leaſt: his troops attacked and defeated the Engliſh near

* Here the partiality of Voltaire, as a French hiſtorian, breaks forth again. It is an inconteſtible truth, that the French began their encroachments on our back ſettlements along the river Ohio; and that the court of Verſailles refuſed to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to the complaints made by the Britiſh miniſtry on that head, many months before the ſeizure of any French ſhip at ſea.

Canada in 1755; he got ready a conſiderable fleet in his harbours, and propoſed to attack George II. by land, in his electorate of Hanover. Such an irruption into Germany threatened Europe with the conflagration, which had been lighted up in the new world; and it was, then that all the political views of Europe were altered. The king of England, a ſecond time called, from the extremities of the north, thirty thouſand Ruſſians, whom he took into his pay. As the Ruſſian empire was in alliance with the emperor and empreſs queen of Hungary, the king of Pruſſia had reaſon to be afraid that the Ruſſians, Imperialiſts, and Hanoverians might fall upon him. He had about one hundred and forty thouſand men in arms; he did not heſitate to unite with the king of England to hinder the Ruſſians from entering Germany on the one hand, and, on the other, to block up the road to the French. Here then all Europe is again in arms, and France again plunged in new calamities, which ſhe might have ſhunned, if ſhe could have avoided her fate.

The king of France raiſed with eaſe, and, in a moment, all the money he wanted, by one of thoſe ready reſources, which cannot be known in a kingdom leſs opulent than France; twenty new places of farmers general and ſome loans, ſufficed to ſupport the firſt years of the war;—

a deſtructive

a deſtructive facility, which, in a ſhort time, ruined the kingdom!

France pretended to threaten the coaſts of England with an invaſion, but it was no longer as in the reign of queen Elizabeth, who yet, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, only (having Scotland to fear, and being ſcarce able to keep Ireland) withſtood the prodigious efforts of Philip II. For George II. king of England, thought himſelf obliged to bring over ſome Hanoverians and Heſſians to defend his coaſts; the Engliſh, who had not foreſeen this conſequence of their undertaking, murmured to ſee an inundation of ſtrangers; and the courage of ſeveral citizens degenerated to fear,—they trembled for their liberty.

While the Engliſh were thus miſtaken with regard to the intentions of the French, and were afraid of an invaſion, they never thought of Minorca, the fruit of ſuch immenſe expence laviſhed in a former war for the ſucceſſion of Spain.

The Engliſh, as is well known, had taken Minorca from the Spaniards; the poſſeſſion of that place, which had been confirmed to them by all the treaties, was of more importance than Gibraltar, which has no harbour, and gave them the empire of the Mediterranean. About the end of April 1756, the king of France ſent the

the marſhal duke de Richelieu into that iſland, with near twenty battalions, eſcorted by a dozen of ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates, which the Engliſh did not ſuſpect to be in ſo much readineſs; all was ſo at a fixed time, and nothing was ready on the ſide of the Engliſh, who attempted, however, though too late, to attack the French fleet commanded by the marquiſs de la Galliſſonniere, in the month of June following. That engagement could not have preſerved the iſland of Minorca, but it might have ſaved their reputation: the expedition was unſucceſsful; the marquiſs Galliſſonniere threw their fleet into diſorder, and repulſed it *. For ſome time after, the Engliſh miniſtry ſaw with regret, that they had compelled the French to eſtabliſh a formidable navy.

The Engliſh ſtill had hope of defending the citadel of Port Mahon, which, next to Gibraltar, they regarded as the ſtrongeſt place in

* It would have been never the truth, if Mr. Voltaire had ſaid, that neither of the fleets gained any advantage over the other; but it ſurpaſſes the limits of common partiality to give the honour of the day to Galliſſonniere, who took the earlieſt opportunity to avail himſelf of Mr. Byng's miſconduct, by flying towards the cloſe of the action, as ſoon as he had joined the van of his fleet, which had actually been defeated.

Europe, by its ſituation, by the nature of the ground, and by thirty years care which they had taken to fortify it. It was every where an entire rock; there were ditches twenty feet deep, and in ſome places thirty, cut into the rock; there were fourſcore mines under ſome works before which it was impoſſible to open the trenches. It was every where impenetrable to cannon, and the citadel was every where ſurrounded with thoſe exterior fortifications cut into the ſolid rock.

The marſhal de Richelieu formed a bolder enterprize than that of Bergen op-zoom, which was to make an aſſault, at one time, on all the works, which defended the body of the place; and in this daring attempt, he was ſeconded by the marquiſs de Maillebois, who always diſplayed great talents in this war.

The people of London were ſo exaſperated at their not being able to conquer the French at ſea, that admiral Byng, who had fought the marquiſs Galliſſonniere, was condemned by a court-martial to be ſhot, by virtue of an old law paſſed in the reign of Charles II. Marſhal Richelieu, who from the height of a plain country had ſeen all the engagement, and who could form a judgment of it, in vain ſent a declaration to the author of this hiſtory in juſtification of admiral Byng, which ſoon reached the

the king of England. It was alſo in vain that the judges themſelves recommended him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the mercy of the king, who might have ſaved him; for after all, that admiral was executed. He was ſon of another admiral of the ſame family, who gained the famous victory off Meſſina in 1718. He died with great reſolution, and before his execution ſent his vindication to the author, and his acknowledgments to marſhal Richelieu.

June 28, 1756. The French deſcended into the foſſées in ſpite of the fire of the Engliſh artillery; they placed ſcaling ladders thirteen feet high; and the officers and ſoldiers, when arrived at the laſt round, ſprung upon the rock, climbing upon one another's ſhoulders. It was by a boldneſs not eaſily to be comprehended that they made themſelves maſters of the out-works. The troops behaved with ſo much more courage, as they had to do with near three thouſand Engliſh, aſſiſted by all that art or nature could do for their defence.

The next day the place ſurrendered; the Engliſh could not conceive how the French had ſcaled the foſſées, into which a man in cool blood would hardly venture to deſcend. This action acquired great glory to the General, and to the nation, but it was the laſt of the French ſucceſſes againſt England.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

The War in GERMANY. An Elector of BRANDENBOURG reſiſts the Houſe of AUSTRIA, and the GERMAN Empire, together with RUSSIA and FRANCE. Remarkable Events.

IT was worthy of admiration that Louis XIV. alone ſhould be able to reſiſt Germany, England, Italy and Holland, united againſt him; but we have ſeen a more extraordinary event, an elector of Brandenbourg by himſelf, withſtand the forces of the houſes of Auſtria, France, Ruſſia, Sweden, and one half the empire.

This is a prodigy which we can only attribute to the diſcipline of his troops, and to the ſuperior talents of the General. It is true, chance may gain a battle; but when the weak reſiſt the ſtrong for ſeven years, in a country entirely open, and repair the greateſt loſſes, that cannot be the work of fortune:—it is in this reſpect that this war differs from all others which have deſolated the world.

We have already ſeen that the ſecond king of Pruſſia, being the only prince in Europe who had

had a treaſure, and the only one who had introduced proper diſcipline among his troops, had thereby eſtabliſhed a new dominion in Germany; and we have ſeen how much the preparations of the father emboldened the ſon to brave alone, the power of Auſtria, and to make himſelf maſter of Sileſia.

The empreſs queen waited for a favourable conjuncture to recover that province. Formerly it would have been an object of indifference to Europe, whether a ſmall territory annexed to Bohemia, ſhould belong to one houſe more than another; but politics being refined more than improved in Europe, as well as all the other objects of the human mind, this trifling diſpute occaſioned five hundred thouſand men to bear arms. There never were ſo many effective ſoldiers employed, neither in the cruſades, nor in the irruptions of the conquerors in Aſia;—in this manner the new ſcene was opened.

Elizabeth, empreſs of Ruſſia, was leagued with the empreſs Maria Thereſa by ancient treaties,—by the common intereſt which united them againſt the Turks, and by reciprocal affection. Auguſtus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, being reconciled to the empreſs queen, and attached to Ruſſia, to which he owed the title of king of Poland, was cloſely connected

connected with these two sovereigns. The three potentates had each their complaints against king Frederic; Maria Theresa had seen Silesia torn from her house; Augustus, and his council, wanted an indemnification for Saxony, ruined by the king of Prussia in the year 1741, and there subsisted between Elizabeth and Frederic some personal subjects of complaint, which have often more influence than could be expected upon the destiny of states.

These three powers being exasperated against the king of Prussia, carried on a strict correspondence among themselves, of which that prince dreaded the effects. While the troops of Austria were augmenting, those of Elizabeth were ready; but the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was not in a condition to undertake any thing, the revenues of his electorate were exhausted, and he had no garrisoned town remaining to hinder the Prussians from marching to Dresden. Thus order and œconomy rendered Brandenbourg as much formidable as dissipation had weakened Saxony. The king of Poland's Saxon council hesitated much about entering into measures which might prove fatal to them.

The king of Prussia had lost no time, for from the year 1755 he had secretly taken the resolution to circumvent the designs of those potentates

tentates who had given him ſo great umbrage. On the 26th of January 1756, he ſigned a treaty with the king of England, elector of Hanover; he made ſure of the landgrave of Heſſe, and of the houſe of Brunſwick, and, in this manner, renounced his alliance with France.

It was now that the ancient enmity between the houſes of France and Auſtria, which had continued increaſing ever ſince the times of Charles V. and Francis I. gave way to a friendſhip which appeared cordially eſtabliſhed, to the aſtoniſhment of all the nations of Europe. The king of France, who had carried on ſo cruel a war againſt Maria Thereſa, became her ally; and the king of Pruſſia, who had been allied to France, became her enemy. France and Auſtria were thus united, after three hundred years ſpent in a bloody diſcord. What ſo many treaties of peace, and ſo many marriages had not been able to accompliſh, was effected in a moment by a diſguſt received from an elector. This was called an unnatural alliance by the people of England; but being neceſſary, it was of courſe very natural. It might even have been hoped, that the uniting of thoſe two powerful houſes, ſeconded by Ruſſia, Sweden, and ſeveral ſtates of the empire, would be able to reſtrain the reſt of Europe.

The

The treaty was ſigned at Paris by Louis XV. and Maria Thereſa in May 1756. The abbé Bernis (ſince cardinal) had the ſole honour of this famous treaty, which deſtroyed the whole edifice of cardinal Richelieu, and which ſeemed to raiſe another more lofty and extenſive. He was ſoon after miniſter of ſtate, and almoſt as ſoon diſgraced,—we ſee nothing but revolutions both in public and private affairs.

While the king of Pruſſia was threatened on all ſides, it only made him more ready to take the field. He marched his troops into Saxony, which was almoſt defenceleſs, propoſing to make that province a rampart againſt the power of Auſtria, and a road to its frontiers. Leipſig immediately fell into his hands, while a part of his army preſented itſelf before Dreſden. King Auguſtus retired as his father did, before Charles XII. After leaving his capital, he went and occupied the camp of Pirna near Koenigſtein, in the road to Bohemia, and on the river Elbe, where he thought himſelf in ſafety.

Frederic entered Dreſden as maſter, under the name of protector. He demanded the keys of the archives from the queen of Poland, daughter of the emperor Joſeph, who had been unwilling to quit the place; and on her refuſing to give them up, took proper meaſures

to

to force open the doors. The queen placed herſelf before them, flattering herſelf that they would reſpect her perſon and reſolution; but they ſhewed no reſpect to either, and that depoſitary of the ſtate was opened before her eyes. It was of great conſequence to the king of Pruſſia to find the proofs of the deſigns of Saxony againſt him: in fact, he found teſtimonies of the dread which he had occaſioned; but that ſame dread, which ſhould have obliged the court of Dreſden to put itſelf in a ſtate of defence, only ſerved to render it a victim to a powerful neighbour. They were ſenſible, when it was too late, that, according to the ſituation of Saxony for ſome years paſt, they ought to have ſpent all upon war, and nothing on pleaſure. Theirs was a ſituation in which they had no other part to take, but that of preparing themſelves to fight, to conquer, or to periſh.

On the report of this invaſion, the Aulic council of the emperor, declared the king of Pruſſia to be a diſturber of the public peace, and a rebel; but it was difficult to give any weight to this declaration, againſt a prince who had near one hundred and fifty thouſand fighting men under his command. He anſwered to the laws by a battle, which was fought between him and the Auſtrians, whom he

he went to meet at the entrance of Bohemia, near a town named Lowoſitz.

Though this firſt engagement was indeciſive by the number of ſlain, yet it was not ſo by its conſequences. Nothing could now prevent the king from blocking up the Saxons in the camp of Pirna itſelf, where the Auſtrians never could aſſiſt them; and that ſmall army of the king of Poland, conſiſting of thirteen or fourteen thouſand men, ſurrendered priſoners of war, ſeven days after the battle.

Auguſtus, in this uncommon capitulation (the only military event between him and the king of Pruſſia) aſked no more than that his guards ſhould not be made priſoners: Frederic replied, "That he could not liſten to his re-"queſt; that thoſe guards would infallibly "ſerve againſt him, and that he did not chuſe "to have the trouble of taking them a ſecond "time." This anſwer was a terrible leſſon to all princes, that they muſt make themſelves powerful when they have a powerful neighbour.

The king of Poland being thus deprived of his electorate and his army, demanded paſſports from his enemy to go into Poland, which were readily granted, and they had the inſulting politeneſs to furniſh him with poſt-horſes for his journey. He went from his hereditary

eſtates

to his elective kingdom, where he found nobody even propose to take arms in defence of their king. All the electorate was laid under contribution; and the king of Prussia, in making war, found the means of supporting it in the invaded country. The queen of Poland, who did not follow her husband but remained in Dresden, died soon after of grief. All Europe pitied that unfortunate family; but in the course of those public calamities, millions of families experienced hardships not less great though more obscure. Upon the magistrates of Leipzig remonstrating against the contributions imposed on them by the conqueror, which they said they could not pay,—they were sent to prison, and then paid them.

There never were so many battles in any former war, as were fought in this. The Russians entered the territories of Prussia by the way of Poland. The French became auxiliaries to the queen of Hungary; and were fighting to restore to her the same Silesia of which they had helped to strip her some years before, when they were allies of the king of Prussia. The king of England, who had been the most avowed friend of the house of Austria, was now one of its most dangerous foes. And Sweden, which had formerly given such great shocks to this imperial house of Austria, served

then

then againſt the king of Pruſſia, on account of nine hundred thouſand livres given by the French miniſtry, but it was Sweden that did the leaſt miſchief.

Germany now ſaw itſelf torn to pieces by many more national and foreign armies than had been in it during the famous war of thirty years.

While the Ruſſians were coming through Poland to aſſiſt Auſtria, the French entered by the duchy of Cleves and by Weſel, which were abandoned by the Pruſſians. They ſeized upon all Heſſe, and marched towards the country of Hanover, againſt an army of Engliſh, Hanoverians and Heſſians, commanded by the ſame duke of Cumberland who had attacked Louis XV. at Fontenoy.

The king of Pruſſia went in ſearch of the Auſtrian army in Bohemia, and ſent a conſiderable body to oppoſe the Ruſſians. The troops of the empire, which were called the troops of execution, were ordered to penetrate into Saxony, which had fallen entirely under the Pruſſian power. In this manner, Germany was a prey to ſix formidable armies, which devoured it at the ſame time.

The king of Pruſſia then haſtened to attack prince Charles of Lorrain, (brother to the emperor,) and general Brown near Prague. This

This battle, which was fought on the 6th of May 1757, was very bloody; the Pruſſians were victorious, and a party of Auſtrian infantry were obliged to throw themſelves into Prague, where they remained blocked up more than two months by the conqueror. A number of princes were in the city; proviſions began to fall ſhort, and it was thought that Prague would ſoon ſubmit to the yoke, and that Auſtria was likely to be more overpowered by Frederic, than by Guſtavus Adolphus.

By endeavouring to carry every thing at once, the conqueror loſt all the fruits of his victory. The count de Kaunitz, firſt miniſter to Maria Thereſa, a man as active in the cabinet as the king of Pruſſia was in the field, had already collected an army under the command of marſhal Daun. The king of Pruſſia, without heſitation, went immediately to attack that army which muſt have been intimidated by the reputation of his victories. If that army could once have been diſperſed, Prague, which had been bombarded for ſome time, would of courſe have ſurrendered at diſcretion; and he would have become abſolute maſter of Germany. Marſhal Daun entrenched his troops on the top of a little hill; the Pruſſians aſcended it ſeven times as at a general aſſault, and were as often repulſed and overthrown.

The

The king loſt about twenty-five thouſand men, killed, wounded, priſoners and deſerters. Prince Charles of Lorrain, who had been ſhut up in Prague, ſallied out, and purſued the Pruſſians. This revolution was as great as the exploits and expectations of the king of Pruſſia had been before the engagement.

The French, on their ſide, ſtrongly ſeconded the empreſs Maria Thereſa. Marſhal d'Eſtrées, who commanded them, had already paſſed the Weſer; he followed the duke of Cumberland ſtep by ſtep towards Minden, overtook him near Haſtenbek, gave him battle, and gained a complete victory. In that action, the princes of Condé and de la Marche Conti, firſt ſignalized their arms, and the royal blood of France ſupported the glory of their country againſt that of England. A count de Laval Montmorenci, and a brave officer of the houſe of Buſſy, loſt their lives; a muſket-ſhot, which was a long time thought to be mortal, pierced the count de Chatelet of the houſe of Lorrain; he was ſon of the celebrated marchioneſs de Chatelet, whoſe name will never periſh in the memory of thoſe who know, that this French lady wrote a comment on the great Newton.

Let us obſerve here, that by the intrigues at court, the command was already taken from marſhal d'Eſtrées, and that while he was gain-

ing a battle, the orders were diſpatched to give him that affront. They affected to complain at court, that he had not yet taken the electorate of Hanover, and that he had not marched as far as Magdebourg. They thought that every thing ought to be terminated in one campaign. Such had been the confidence of the French when they made an emperor, that they believed they could diſpoſe of the eſtates of the houſe of Auſtria in 1741; and ſuch it had been, at the beginning of the age of Louis XIV. and Philip V. then maſters of Italy and Flanders, and ſeconded by two electors; they thought of giving laws to Europe, and they were always deceived. Marſhal d'Eſtrées ſaid, "that it "was not enough to advance into Germany, "but they muſt prepare the means to get out "of it." His conduct and valour proved, that when an army is once ſent, the management of it ſhould be left to the General; becauſe, if they have made choice of him, they have had confidence in his abilities.

CHAP.

that under marſhal Richelieu. This army was joined to that of the circles, commanded by prince Hilbourghauſen.

When Frederic was ſurrounded by ſo many enemies, he took the reſolution to die ſword-in-hand in the ranks of the army of the prince de Soubize; but, at the ſame time, took every meaſure to conquer him.

After reconnoitring the army of France, and the circles, he immediately retreated before them in order to poſſeſs himſelf of an advantageous ſituation. Prince Hilbourghauſen was reſolved to attack him, and his opinion of courſe prevailed, becauſe the French were only auxiliaries. They therefore marched between Roſbach and Metzbourg to attack the Pruſſian army, which was apparently encamped; but, all of a ſudden, the tents were ſtruck, and the Pruſſians appeared in order of battle, between two eminences lined with artillery.

This unexpected ſight intimidated the French and Imperialiſts. For ſeveral years it had been in agitation to exerciſe the French troops after the Pruſſian method; afterwards ſeveral evolutions had been altered in the exerciſe, ſo that the ſoldier did not know what he was doing; his old way of fighting was changed, and he was not perfect in the new. When he ſaw the Pruſſians advance in that ſingular order, un-

known almoſt every where elſe, he imagined he ſaw his maſters. The king of Pruſſia's artillery was alſo better ſerved, and much better poſted than that of his enemies. The troops of the circles fled almoſt without engaging; the French cavalry were diſperſed in an inſtant by the Pruſſian cannon; a panic fear ſpread every where, and the French infantry retired in diſorder before ſix battalions of Pruſſians. In fact, this was not a battle, but a whole army which offered to fight, and then diſperſed. Hiſtory has hardly any examples of a ſimilar action; only two regiments of Swiſs remained in the field, and the prince de Soubize went through the middle of the firing, to make them retreat with deliberation.

The regiment of colonel Dieſback, in particular, ſuſtained, for a long time, the firing of the cannon and muſquetry, and the attacks of the cavalry; and it was owing to the prince de Soubize, that it was not broken, he partaking of all its dangers *. This ſtrange battle en-

* It is againſt colonel Dieſback, that the famous La Beaumelle has been pleaſed to rail, in a little book, intitled, Mes Penſées, as well as againſt the d'Erlacs, the Sinners, and all the illuſtrious families of Switzerland, who have laviſhed their blood theſe two centuries paſt for the kings of France. The impudent clowniſhneſs of this wretch ought to be chaſtiſed on all occaſions.

tirely

tirely changed the face of affairs: murmurs were univerſal at Paris; but when the ſame General obtained a victory over the Heſſians and Hanoverians in the year following, it was hardly mentioned. We have already obſerved that ſuch is the ſpirit of a large city, happy and idle, and whoſe applauſe is ſo much coveted.

At the ſame time, new diſaſters overwhelmed the army of marſhal Richelieu, which had been leſſened by the miniſtry, who were unwilling to ratify the convention and the conditions, which marſhal Richelieu had impoſed on the duke of Cumberland. By this conduct, the Engliſh (not without reaſon) thought themſelves diſengaged from their promiſe. The ratification from Verſailles did not arrive 'till five days after the misfortune of Roſbach; after this, the Engliſh recovered Hanover in a very ſhort time.

If the affair of Roſbach was uncommon, what the king of Pruſſia did after this unexpected victory, was ſtill more extraordinary. He flew into Sileſia, where the Auſtrian conquerors had defeated his troops, and were in poſſeſſion of Schweidnitz and Breſlau; and had it not been for his great expedition, he would have loſt Sileſia, and the battle of Roſbach had been of no ſervice.

In the courſe of a month he arrived oppoſite to the Auſtrian army, which he immediately attacked with great fury at Liſſa, Dec. 5, 1757. The battle laſted five hours; and Frederic, completely victorious, re-entered Schweidnitz and Breſlau. Such a continual viciſſitude of frequent engagements, gained or loſt, has not happened ſince that time. The French alone were always unlucky; but the government was never diſcouraged, and France drained herſelf to ſend armies conſtantly into Germany.

The king of Pruſſia greatly weakened himſelf by ſo many battles. The Ruſſians took the whole kingdom of Pruſſia from him, and ravaged Pomerania, while he was laying waſte Saxony. The Auſtrians, and afterwards the Ruſſians, entered Berlin. Almoſt the whole of his father's treaſures, and thoſe which he himſelf had amaſſed, were neceſſarily expended in this war, ſo ruinous to all parties; he was therefore obliged to have recourſe to the ſubſidies of England. The Auſtrians, French and Ruſſians never diſcouraged themſelves, but purſued him continually. His family durſt no longer remain in Berlin, they were obliged to take refuge in Magdebourg; and, as for himſelf, after ſo many different ſucceſſes, he was, in 1762, entrenched under Breſlau. Maria-Thereſa ſeemed to be on the point of recovering

Sileſia.

Silesia. He had lost Dresden, and all that part of Saxony which borders on Bohemia; and the king of Poland was in hopes of re-entering his hereditary estates, when the death of Elizabeth, empress of Russia (on the 6th of January 1762) gave again a new face to affairs, which had so often changed.

As the new emperor, Peter III. had long been a secret friend of the king of Prussia; as soon as he ascended the throne, he not only made peace with him, but became his ally, against the same empress queen, to whom Elizabeth had always been a constant friend. Thus, all of a sudden, we see the king of Prussia, who had been so pressed by the Russians and Austrians, preparing to enter Bohemia, by the assistance of the same Russians who had fought against him some weeks before.

This new situation was as quickly disordered as it had been formed. A sudden revolution altered the affairs of Russia.

Peter III. wanted to divorce his wife, and stimulated the nation against her. He had said, one day, when he was intoxicated with liquor, to the regiment of Preobasinski on the parade, that he would beat them with fifty Prussians. It was that regiment which prevented his designs, and dethroned him. The soldiers and the people declared against him; he was pur-

ſued, taken, and put into a priſon, where he comforted himſelf in drinking punch for eight days together, at the end of which he died *. The army and citizens, with one voice, proclaimed his wife, Catherine Anhalt, empreſs,

* The imperfect account given by M. de Voltaire of this ſtrange revolution; the contemptuous manner in which he ſpeaks of the unfortunate emperor, and the erroneous account he gives of his death, are all freſh proofs of his partiality. In a very few words, he might have given a clearer idea of the truth. Peter, with no talents for ſuch vaſt projects, had reſolved to introduce a number of innovations into his government. He began with the army and the clergy; he exaſperated both; and not having concerted his meaſures with that precaution and deliberation which ſuch enterprizes require, before they are carried into execution, he fell a victim to his want of underſtanding, and his ambition to imitate emperors, kings and legiſlators, men of the firſt abilities and bleſſed with heroic fortitude. Peter the great, and the king of Pruſſia were the models he had in view, without the leaſt capacity to copy after the drawings of theſe celebrated warriors and legiſlators. As to the manner of his death, it is well known that the reſentment of a ſlighted woman, whoſe affection (if ever ſhe had any for her huſband) was changed to extreme hatred, occaſioned it, and that in the moſt cruel manner. The prieſts and his wife glutted their fury, by making him expire under the moſt horrid tortures. The editor of this tranſlation ſaw a copy of the memoirs of this revolution, (printed at London, bought up, or otherwiſe ſuppreſſed by the Ruſſian miniſter) in which all the circumſtances of his tragic end are related at large.

although

although ſhe was a foreigner; being of the houſe of Aſcanie, one of the moſt ancient in Europe. It is ſhe who has ſince become the real legiſlatrix of that vaſt empire. Thus Ruſſia has been governed by five women ſucceſſively, Catherine, widow of Peter the great; Ann, niece of that monarch; the ducheſs of Brunſwick, regent under the ſhort reign of her unhappy ſon, prince Ivan; Elizabeth, daughter of Czar Peter the great, and of Catherine I, and in fine, this Catherine II. who, in ſo ſhort a time, has raiſed herſelf ſo great a name. This ſucceſſion of five women without interruption, is a ſingular event in the hiſtory of the world.

The king of Pruſſia being deprived of the ſuccours of the Ruſſian emperor, who wanted to fight under him, did not carry on the war with leſs vigilance againſt the houſe of Auſtria, one half of the empire, France and Sweden.

It is true, that the exploits of the Swedes were not thoſe of Guſtavus Adolphus. His ſiſter, wife of the king of Sweden, had no inclination to do him miſchief. It was not the court of Stockholm who took arms againſt him, it was the ſenate, and the ſenate did it becauſe France gave them money. Though the court was not able to prevent that ſenate from ſending troops into Pomerania, yet it was powerful enough

enough to render them uſeleſs; and, in reality, the Swedes pretended only to make war for the little money that was given them.

It was chiefly in Germany that blood was continually ſpilt, the frontiers of France being never attacked. Germany became a gulf which ſwallowed up the blood and treaſures of France. The bounds of this hiſtory, which is only a ſummary, will not allow a detail of the prodigious number of engagements, which happened from the banks of the Baltic, as far as the Rhine; hardly any battle had great conſequences, becauſe each of the powers had conſtant reſources. It was quite otherwiſe in America and India, where the loſs of twelve hundred men was irreparable: even the battle of Roſbach was not followed by any revolution. The battle loſt by the French near Minden in 1759, and the other checks which they ſuffered, made them indeed retire, but they ſtill remained in Germany. When they were again overcome at Crevelt, between Cleves and Cologne, they continued, however, ſtill maſters of the dutchy of Cleves, and of the city of Gueldres. What was moſt remarkable in the action of Creyelt, was the loſs of the count de Giſors, only ſon of the marſhal de Belleiſle, who was wounded while fighting at the head of his carabineers. He was a moſt promiſing youth; being

being equally inſtructed in affairs of ſtate and in the militaty art, he was capable of great or leſſer undertakings; as his politeneſs was equal to his courage, he was beloved at court, and in the army. The prince of Brunſwick, who took him priſoner, behaved to him like a brother, and did not leave him 'till his death, which he honoured with his tears. This is the ſame prince of Brunſwick, who has ſince travelled through France, and a great part of Europe, and whom I have ſeen enjoying his great reputation, and the praiſes due to him with ſo much modeſty. He at that time fought under his uncle, the prince of Brunſwick, brother-in-law to the king of Pruſſia, who acquired a great reputation, and who had the ſame modeſty, the true concomitant of glory, and the characteriſtic of his family. On ſeveral occaſions the hereditary prince commanded ſeparate bodies, and he was often as ſucceſsful as enterpriſing.

The battle of Crevelt, which was mentioned at Paris with the greateſt diſcouragement, did not hinder the duke de Broglio from obtaining a complete victory at Bergen near Francfort, againſt thoſe ſame princes of Brunſwick, elſewhere victorious, and of meriting the dignity of marſhal of France, after the example of his father and grandfather. It was the ſame prince

who

who gained the battle of Warbourg, where the marquiſs of Caſtre, the prince de Rohan-Rochefort, his couſin, the marquiſs de Betiſi, the count de la Tour du Pin, the marquiſs de Valence, and a prodigious number of French officers, were wounded. Their misfortunes were proofs of their valour.

The frequent ſucceſſes of the young hereditary prince did not prevent the prince of Condé, (much about his age, and his rival in glory) from getting the advantage of him, ſix leagues from Francfort toward Veteravic. It was there that the prince of Brunſwick was wounded, and that all the French were intereſted as much for his cure as for their own.

What was the reſult of this innumerable multitude of battles, of which even the recital, at this day, is tedious to thoſe, who there ſignalized themſelves? What remains after ſo many battles? Nothing but blood ſpilt to no purpoſe in uncultivated and ruined countries, villages deſtroyed, families reduced to beggary; and but rarely even a whiſper of thoſe calamities reached ſo far as Paris, always profoundly engaged in pleaſures, or in diſputes equally frivolous.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The French unfortunate in the four Quarters of the World. Diſaſters of Governor DUPLEIX. The Puniſhment of LALLY.

FRANCE, at that time, ſeemed to be more drained of men and money, in its alliance with Auſtria, than it had appeared in two hundred years war againſt it. In the ſame manner it coſt Louis XIV. more to aſſiſt Spain, than had been ſpent in fighting againſt it ſince the time of Louis XII. The reſources of France have healed thoſe wounds; but they have not been able to repair thoſe received in Aſia, Africa and America.

The French appeared at firſt triumphant in Aſia, and the India company, to its misfortune, was victorious. Ever ſince the irruption of Shah-Nadir, the empire of India was nothing but anarchy; the Subahs, who are viceroys, or rather tributary kings, bought their kingdoms at court, from the great Padiſha Mogul, and reſold their provinces to Nabobs, who, for ready money, ceded whole diſtricts to the Rajas. It often happened, that the miniſters of the great Mogul, having given a patent for a king, gave the

the ſame patent to him who would pay more; Subahs, Nabobs and Rajas uſed the ſame method; and every one ſupported, with arms, the right which he had dearly purchaſed. As for the Marattoes, they declared for him who would pay them beſt, and plundered both friends and foes. Two battalions of French or Engliſh could beat thoſe undiſciplined multitudes, who had no art, and who (the Marattoes excepted) even wanted courage. The weakeſt then, implored the protection of merchants ſettled there from France and England, to enable them to be kings in India, becauſe they could furniſh them with officers and ſoldiers from Europe. It was on theſe occaſions that a ſimple captain could ſometimes make a greater fortune in that country, than any General can among us.

While the princes of the peninſula were fighting among themſelves, we have ſeen that thoſe French and Engliſh merchants were engaged in war alſo, becauſe their reſpective kings were at variance in Europe.

After the peace in 1748, governor Du Pleix kept in pay the few troops that he had left, as well the ſoldiers from Europe whom they call whites, as the blacks of the iſlands tranſplanted into India, and the ſeapoys and pion Indians.

One

One of the under tyrants of thoſe parts, named Chandaſaeb, who was an Arabian adventurer, born in the deſart, ſouth-eaſt of Jeruſalem, and tranſplanted into India to puſh his fortune, had become ſon-in-law to a nabob of Arcot. This Arab aſſaſſinated his father-in-law, his brother, and his nephew; and having experienced a reverſe of fortune, proportioned to his crimes, he had recourſe to governor Du Pleix, to obtain the nabobſhip of Arcot, on which Pondicherry is dependent. Du Pleix forthwith lent him ſecretly ten thouſand louis d'ors, which, joined to the wrecks of the fortune of that villain, procured him the viceroyalty of Arcot. By his money and intrigues he obtained the diploma of this viceroyſhip. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of it, Du Pleix lent him troops. With thoſe troops united to his own, he fought the real viceroy of Arcot. This was the ſame Anaverdikan, aged one hundred and ſeven years, whom we have already mentioned, who was killed at the head of his army.

The conqueror, Chandaſaeb, being poſſeſſed of the treaſures of the deceaſed, diſtributed, to the amount of two hundred thouſand livres, amongſt the ſoldiers from Pondicherry. He heaped preſents upon the officers, and afterwards made a gift of thirty-five aldées to the India company.

company. Aldée ſignifies village; it is a term ſtill uſed in Spain ſince the invaſion of the Arabs, who predominated equally in Spain and in India; the traces of whoſe language are left in more than one hundred provinces.

This ſucceſs awakened the Engliſh; they immediately took the part of the vanquiſhed family. There were two nabobs; and as the ſubah or king of Decan was in alliance with the government of Pondicherry, ſo another king, his competitor, joined himſelf to the Engliſh. Thus a bloody war was again lighted between the factories of France and England, on the coaſts of Coromandel, at a time when Europe enjoyed peace.

Both ſides ſhewed great courage. Meſſieurs d'Auteuil, de Buſſi, Laſs, and a great many more ſignalized themſelves by actions, which might have gained applauſe in the armies of marſhal Saxe. Above all, there was an exploit as aſtoniſhing as it is indubitable; which is, that an officer, named Mr. de la Touche, followed by three hundred Frenchmen, ſurrounded by an army of eighty thouſand men, which threatened Pondicherry, penetrated in the night into their camp, killed twelve hundred men without loſing more than two ſoldiers, put that great army into conſternation, and entirely diſperſed it. This action was ſuperior

perior to that of the three hundred Spartans at the pass of Thermopolis, since the Spartans perished there, whereas the French were conquerors. But perhaps we do not know how to celebrate enough what deserves praise; and the innumerable multitude of our battles extinguishes their glory.

The king, protected by the French, was named Mouza-Fersingue. He was nephew to the king favoured by the English. The uncle had taken the nephew prisoner, and had not put him to death, according to the custom of the family; he kept him, loaded with irons, in the retinue of his armies, with a part of his treasures. Governor Du Pleix managed so well with the officers of the enemy, that in a second battle the conqueror of Mouza-Fersingue was assassinated. The captive and the treasures of his enemy were his conquest. There were in the camp seventeen millions in specie, the greatest part of which Mouza-Fersingue promised to the India company; the little French army divided twelve hundred thousand livres. All the officers were better rewarded than they would have been by any potentate of Europe.

Du Pleix received Mouza-Fersingue in Pondicherry as a great king does the honours of his court to a neighbouring monarch. The new Subah, who was indebted to him for his crown, gave

gave his protector eighty aldées, a penſion of two hundred and forty thouſand livers for himſelf, as much for madam Du Pleix, and one of forty thouſand crowns to a daughter of madam Du Pleix, in a former marriage. Chandaſaeb, the benefactor and protector, was appointed viceroy of Arcot. The pomp of Du Pleix at leaſt equalled that of the two princes; he went before them, carried in a palanquin, eſcorted by five hundred guards, preceded by martial muſic, and followed by armed elephants.

After the death of his dependant, Mouza-Ferſingue, who was killed in a ſedition of his troops, he again named another king, and received from him four ſmall provinces as a gift for the company. He was told from all quarters, that before the expiration of a year, he would make the Great Mogul tremble. He was ſovereign in fact; for having bought a patent of viceroy of the Carnatic, at the chancery of the Great Mogul, for the moderate ſum of two hundred and forty thouſand livres, he found himſelf equal to his creature, Chandaſaeb, and much ſuperior to him by his credit. Tho' he was a marquiſs in France, and decorated with the grand order of St. Louis, yet thoſe feeble honours were but trifling, when compared to his dignity and power in India. I have ſeen letters wherein his wife was treated as a queen.

So

So much ſucceſs and glory dazzled the eyes of the company, of the proprietors, and even of the miniſtry. The heat of their enthuſiaſm was almoſt as great as in the beginning of the ſcheme; and their hopes were very differently founded, becauſe it appeared, that the lands alone, which were ceded to the company, produced about thirty-nine millions of livres yearly. In common, they ſold goods to the amount of twenty millions every year in France at Port l'Orient; it ſeemed that the company might reckon upon fifty millions yearly, all expences paid. There is not a ſovereign in Europe, nor perhaps on earth, who is poſſeſſed of ſuch a revenue when all charges are defrayed. Even the exceſs of thoſe riches ought to have excited ſuſpicions. All that grandeur and proſperity alſo vaniſhed like a dream; and France, a ſecond time, perceived that its opulence was only chimerical.

The marquiſs Du Pleix inſiſted on laying ſiege to the capital of Madura, in the neighbourhood of Arcate. The Engliſh ſent ſuccours to that place,—the officers repreſented to him the impoſſibility of the enterprize;—he was obſtinate; and having given orders, more like a king who would be obeyed, than like a man employed for the ſervice of the company, it happened that the beſiegers were vanquiſhed

by

by the beſieged. One half of his army was killed, and the other taken priſoners. The immenſe expences laviſhed for thoſe conqueſts were loſt; and his dependant, Chandaſaeb, having been taken in the route, was beheaded. It was the famous lord Clive who had the principal part of the victory, and it was by that he began his glorious career, which has ſince procured almoſt all Bengal to the Engliſh company. He acquired and preſerved the grandeur and riches of which Du Pleix had a glimpſe: in fine, ever ſince that day, the French company has fallen into the moſt fatal decay.

In 1753, Du Pleix was recalled. To him who had played the part of a great king, they gave a ſucceſſor, who only acted as a good merchant. Du Pleix was reduced to litigate the ſad remains of his fortune at Paris with the India company, and to ſolicit audience of his judges in the antichamber. He died ſoon after of vexation; but Pondicherry was reſerved for greater misfortunes.

The fatal war of 1756, having broke out in Europe; the French miniſtry being afraid, with too great reaſon, for Pondicherry, and for all the ſettlements in India, ſent thither lieutenant-general count Lally. He was an Iriſhman of one of thoſe families who came

over

over to France with that of the unfortunate James the ſecond. He had ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Fontenoy, where he had taken ſeveral Engliſh officers with his own hand, that the king made him a colonel on the field of battle; and it was he that formed the plan, more daring than practicable, of landing in England with ten thouſand men, when prince Charles Edward, was there diſputing the crown. His hatred againſt the Engliſh, and his courage gained him the preference to go to fight them on the coaſt of Coromandel. But unfortunately, he did not join to his valour, the prudence, moderation, and patience neceſſary for ſo difficult a commiſſion; he figured to himſelf that Arcate was ſtill the country of riches,—that Pondicherry was well provided with every thing,—that he ſhould be completely aſſiſted by the company and by troops, and eſpecially by his old Iriſh regiment, which he carried over with him; but he was deceived in all his expectations,—he found no money in the coffers,—little ammunition of any ſort,—blacks and ſeapoys, unarmed,—ſome individuals rich, and the colony poor, without any ſubordination. Theſe objects provoked him, and kindled that bad humour in him, which is ſo unbecoming in a commander, and which is always hurtful to his affairs; whereas,

if he had kept fair with the council, and had careſſed the principal officers, he might have been able to have procured aſſiſtance in money to have eſtabliſhed union, and put Pondicherry in ſafety.

The directors of the India company had intreated him, at his departure, to "reform the "numerous abuſes, the exceſſive prodigality, "and the great confuſion which abſorbed the "the revenues." He availed himſelf too much of that requeſt, and made himſelf deſpiſed by all thoſe who were to obey him.

In ſpite of the diſmal aſpect, under which all things appeared to him, he immediately met with good ſucceſs. He took fort St. David, ſome leagues diſtant from Pondicherry, from the Engliſh, and razed its walls. If we want to know the ſource of his cataſtrophe, ſo intereſting to all the military, it is neceſſary to read the letter, which he wrote from the camp before St. David, to M. de Leyrit, who was governor of Pondicherry for the company.

"This letter, Sir, ſhall be an eternal ſecret "between you and me, if you furniſh me with "means to complete my enterprize. I have "left you one hundred thouſand livres of my "money to help you to defray the expences "which it requires. On my arrival, I have "not found a reſource for one hundred pence

"in

" in your purſe, nor in that of the whole coun-
" cil;—you have both refuſed to employ your
" credit in it. In the meantime, I look upon you
" all to be more indebted to the company than
" me, who unluckily had not the honour of
" knowing it, but to loſe one half of my ſub-
" ſtance in 1720. If you continue to let me
" want for every thing, and be expoſed to face
" a general diſcontent, I ſhall not only acquaint
" the king, and the company of the great zeal
" which their agents here ſhew for their ſervice,
" but I ſhall take effectual meaſures not to be
" dependent, during the ſhort ſtay which I wiſh
" to make in this country, upon the ſpirit of
" party and perſonal motives, with which I ſee
" every member buſied, to the total riſque of
" the company."

Such a letter was not calculated to gain him friends, nor to procure him money. Though he did not extort money, yet he ſhewed ſo much envy againſt thoſe who had enriched themſelves, that it encreaſed the public antipathy againſt him. All the operations of war ſuffered for it. I find in a journal of India, written by a principal officer, the following words: " He ſpeaks
" of nothing but chains and dungeons, without
" regard to the rank and age of perſons. He
" is about to treat Mr. de Moracin himſelf in
" this manner. Mr. Lally complains of all

" the world, and all the world complains of " him. He ſaid to Mr. the count de *****, " I am ſenſible that they deteſt me, and that " they would be glad to ſee me at a great di- " ſtance. I engage my word of honour, and " I will give it you in writing, that if Mr. " Leyrit will give me five hundred thouſand " livres, I will lay down my charge, and go " to France in the frigate."

The journal adds afterwards: " We are " to-day at Pondicherry in the greateſt embar- " raſſment. It is impoſſible to raiſe one hun- " dred thouſand rupees, and the ſoldiers threaten " to go over to the enemy."

Notwithſtanding this dreadful confuſion, he had the reſolution to lay ſiege to Madraſs, and immediately took poſſeſſion of the Black Town; but that was preciſely what hindered him from ſucceeding before the High Town, or Fort St. George. He wrote thus from his camp before that fort the 11th of February 1759: " If we fail of Madraſs, (as I believe we ſhall) " the principal reaſon, to which it muſt be at- " tributed, is the pillage of fifteen millions at " leaſt, waſted and diſtributed among the ſol- " diers; and, I am aſhamed to tell it, there " are among the officers, who are not afraid of " uſing my name, in ſeizing the chelingues of " ſeapoys and others, in order to convey to " Pondicherry,

"Pondicherry, a booty, which you ſhould have "arreſted on account of its enormous quan-"tity."

I have the journal of a general officer, which I have already quoted. The author is no friend to count Lally; very far from it; his teſtimony is, on that account, the more acceptable, when he confirms the ſame grievances which occaſioned Lally to deſpair. He expreſſes himſelf thus particularly:

"The immenſe pillage made by the troops "in the Black Town, had brought plenty "among them. Large warehouſes of ſtrong "liquors had led them to drunkenneſs, and "all the evils which it produces. This cir-"cumſtance ſhould have been foreſeen. The "works and the entrenchments, were all in "the hands of drunkards. The regiment of "Lorrain alone was free from that contagion; "but the other troops diſtinguiſhed themſelves "in it. The regiment of Lally was outra-"geous. From thence the moſt ſhameful "ſcenes, and the moſt deſtructive of ſubor-"dination and diſcipline; officers were ſeen "ſtruggling with the ſoldiers, and a thouſand "other infamous actions; the detail of which "confined within the bounds of moſt ſtrict "truth, would appear to be a monſtrous exag-"geration."

Count Lally wrote, in ſtill greater deſpair, this mournful letter: "Hell has ſpewed me "into this country of wickedneſs; and I wait, "like Jonas, for the whale to receive me in "its belly."

While ſuch diſorder prevailed, nothing could ſucceed;—the ſiege was raiſed after loſing part of the army. The other enterprizes were ſtill more unfortunate:—the troops revolted, and were with difficulty appeaſed. They were twice led by the General to engage in a ſmall iſland, named Vandavachi, where he had retired. In the ſecond engagement, he was entirely defeated. Buſſy, marſhal of the camp, the moſt uſeful man in India for war and negociations, was taken priſoner. General Lally remained alone, for ſome time, in the field of battle, abandoned by all his forces. The Marrattoes obtained this victory; and this proves how formidable thoſe Indian republicans are *.

After a great many other loſſes, it was at laſt neceſſary to retire to Pondicherry. An Engliſh ſquadron of ſixteen men of war, after an indeciſive action, obliged the French ſquadron, ſent to the aſſiſtance of the colony, to quit the road of Pondicherry to refit in the iſland of Bourbon.

* Several writers ſay that they have a king; but they *have only* an elective chief.

There was in the town ſixty thouſand black inhabitants, and five or ſix hundred European families, with very little proviſions. The General propoſed to turn out the blacks who famiſhed Pondicherry; but how chace away ſixty thouſand?—the council durſt not attempt it. The General having reſolved to ſtand the ſiege to the utmoſt extremity, and publiſhing a ban, by which it was forbidden to ſpeak of ſurrendering on pain of death, was forced to order a ſtrict ſearch to be made after proviſions in all the houſes of the town. It was but too well known with what contempt and ſeverity he had treated all the council. He had ſaid publicly in one of his expeditions, "I will not "wait longer for the ammunition, which they "have promiſed me; but will drag governor "Leyrit, and all the council with me." This governor Leyrit ſhewed a letter to the officers, addreſſed a long time before to himſelf, in which were the following words: "I would rather "go to command the Caffres, than remain in "this Sodom, which muſt ſooner or later be "deſtroyed by the Engliſh fire, for want of "that heaven."

In this manner, by his complaints and turbulent paſſions, Lally had made himſelf as many foes, as there were officers and inhabitants in Pondicherry.

They returned outrage for outrage, ſticking up at his gate, libels far more inſulting than his letters or diſcourſes. He was agitated to ſuch a degree, that, at ſome particular times, he appeared to be light-headed;—choler and inquietude often produces this ſorrowful effect. A ſon of the late nabob, Chandaſaeb, was at this time a refugee in Pondicherry, with his mother; an officer, lately landed with the French fleet which is returned, reports, that this Indian having often ſeen the French general totally naked, ſinging maſs and the pſalms, ſeriouſly demanded of an officer very well known, "if it was cuſtomary for the king of France to "chooſe a madman for his grand vizir?" The officer being aſtoniſhed, ſaid to him, "Why "do you aſk me ſo ſtrange a queſtion?" "Be"cauſe, replied the Indian, your grand vizir "has ſent us a madman to ſettle the affairs of "India."

By this time, the Engliſh had blocked up Pondicherry both by ſea and land, and the General had no other reſource than to treat with the Marattoes who had conquered him. They had promiſed to aſſiſt him with eighteen thouſand men; but ſuſpecting he had no money to give them, not one appeared, and Pondicherry was obliged to be ſurrendered, the council of which ſummoned the count de Lally to capitulate.

capitulate. He called a council of war, and the officers concluded to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, according to the eſtabliſhed cartels; but general Coote would have the town ſubmit at diſcretion. The French having deſtroyed St. David's, the Engliſh had a right to make a deſart of Pondicherry. Count Lally in vain laying claim to the cartel, both by word of mouth and in writing, the people periſhed with hunger in the town, which was delivered to the conquerors, who ſoon after erazed the fortifications, the walls, the magazines, and all the principal houſes.

At the very time the Engliſh entered the town, the conquered loaded each other with reproaches and injuries. The inhabitants ſought the General's life, and the Engliſh commander was obliged to give him a guard, and he was removed in a ſedan. He had two piſtols in his hands, withwhich he threatened the lives of the mutineers, who, reſpecting the Engliſh guard, ran to the commiſſary of war, who was an ancient officer, intendant of the army, and a chevalier of the order of St. Louis, who drew his ſword, but one of the moſt furious advancing towards him, was wounded by it, and killed him.

Such was the deplorable condition of Pondicherry. The inhabitants of which did themſelve more harm than their conquerors. The

General and upwards of two thouſand priſoners were tranſported into England; and even in their long and dangerous voyage they reciprocally accuſed each other with their common misfortunes.

They were hardly arrived in London, when they wrote againſt Lally, and all thoſe who had been attached to him. Lally and his party wrote againſt the council, the officers, and the inhabitants. He was ſo far perſuaded that they were all reprehenſible, and that he only was in the right, that he came to Fontainbleau, though an Engliſh priſoner, and offered to ſurrender himſelf up to the Baſtile. He was taken at his word; and as ſoon as he was confined, the croud of his enemies, inſtead of being diminiſhed by compaſſion, were augmented. He remained fifteen months in priſon without being once examined.

In the year 1764, Lavaur, a jeſuit, who had been a long time employed as a miſſionary in the Indies, died at Paris; and, under pretence of ſpiritual affairs in the Indies, he was buſy in profane ones, where they have often gained more money than ſouls. This jeſuit demanded from the miniſtry a penſion of four hundred livres, to retire, and take care of his ſoul at Perigordia, which was his country, and they found in his box about one million, one hundred

dred thouſand livres of effects, either in bills or jewels. This has been alſo lately ſeen at Naples, at the death of the famous jeſuit Peppe, whom they were ready to canonize. But this was not the fate of Lavaur,—his treaſures were ſequeſtrated. In this box he had a long memorial in ſeparate pieces againſt Lally, in which he was accuſed of embezzlement and high-treaſon. The writings of the jeſuits had at this time as little credit as their perſons, being baniſhed France; but this memorial appeared with ſuch circumſtances, and the enemies of Lally made it of ſuch importance, that it ſerved as a teſtimony againſt him.

Lally was directly removed to the chatelet, and ſoon after brought before the parliament. The proceſs was two years preparing. Of treaſon he was not guilty; ſince, if he had kept a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh, or had ſold Pondicherry, he would have remained with them. The Engliſh, on the contrary, are not abſurd; and they would have been quite ſo, if they had bought a place nearly ſtarved, that they were ſure of taking, being maſters both at land and ſea. Of embezzlement, he could take no advantage, as he was neither in charge of the king's or company's money; but of cruelty, of abuſe of power, and oppreſſions, the

judges ſaw much, in the unanimous depoſitions of his enemies.

Being always firmly perſuaded that he had been only rigorous and not culpable, he carried his imprudence to that pitch as even to inſult, in his juridicial memorials, officers who had the general approbation, and wanted to diſhonour them and all the council of Pondicherry. The more he perſiſted in his obſtinacy of clearing himſelf at their expence, the blacker he appeared. Each of theſe officers had a number of friends, and he had none. The judges could give ſentence only according to the depoſitions; and they condemned Lally to be beheaded, as duly convicted "of having betrayed the intereſts of the king, of the kingdom, and of the India company; of abuſe of authority, vexations, and exactions."

It is neceſſary to remark that theſe words, "Betrayed the intereſts of the king," have a different ſignification to what is termed in England, high-treaſon, and by us, leze-majeſté. In our definition it ſignifies only a bad conduct, to forget the advantage of ſome one, to be unmindful of his intereſts, and not perfidious and traiterous. When his accuſation was read, his ſurpriſe and indignation was ſo violent, that having by chance a pair of compaſſes in his hand, with which he amuſed himſelf in

priſon,

priſon, in drawing charts of the coaſts of Coromandel, he would have ſtabbed himſelf, but was with-held; and behaved with greater inſolence towards his judges, than he had yet diſplayed againſt his enemies. This is, perhaps, a freſh proof of that firm perſuaſion he always remained in, that he was rather deſerving of reward than puniſhment.

Thoſe who have a knowledge of the human heart, are ſenſible, that commonly the guilty are puniſhed by a conſcientious conviction; that they do not rave at their judges, and that they continue in a melancholy confuſion. There has never been one-ſingle inſtance of an accuſed perſon acknowledging his crime, and charging his judges with injuries and ignominy. I do not pretend that this was a proof of Lally's entire innocence, but it was a proof that he believed himſelf ſo. A gag was put into his mouth, which projected out of his lips, and being placed in a cart, he was conducted to the place of execution. Men are ſo inconſiderate, that this hideous ſight drew more compaſſion, than his puniſhment.

The ſentence confiſcated his wealth, after raiſing a ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns for the poor of Pondicherry, and word has been written, that this ſum cannot be raiſed out of it. I never poſitively affirm what I am unacquainted

quainted with. If any thing could convince us of that fatality which attends all events, in the chaos of the public affairs of the world, it muſt be, to ſee an Iriſhman driven from his country with his royal maſter's family, commander (at ſix thouſand leagues diſtance) of French troops in a merchants war, upon coaſts unknown to the Alexanders, Gengis, or Tamerlanes, dying at laſt an ignominious death upon the banks of the Seine, for having been taken by the Engliſh, in the ancient gulph of the Ganges.

This cataſtrophe, which, in all its circumſtances, to me appears worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity, has not permitted me to mention all the misfortunes that the French experienced both in India and America. I muſt now reſume the melancholy recital.

Almoſt all the journals have ſaid, that the Pariſian parliament ſent deputies to the king to ſupplicate him not to extend his mercy to Lally: this is very falſe. Such an obſtinate cruelty, incompatible with juſtice and humanity, would have caſt upon the parliament, an univerſal ſhame.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Loſſes of the FRENCH.

THE firſt loſs of the French in India was that of Chandernagor, an important poſt, of which the French India company were in poſſeſſion, towards the mouth of the Ganges, from thence they drew their beſt merchandize.

After taking of the town and fort of Chandernagor, the Engliſh never ceaſed ruining the commerce of the French in India. The government of the emperor was ſo weak and bad, that he could not prevent the European merchants from making leagues and wars in his own kingdom. The Engliſh had even the boldneſs to come and attack Surat, one of the fineſt towns in India, and the greateſt place of traffic belonging to the emperor. They took it, pillaged it, and deſtroyed the French factories, and gained immenſe riches, without the court of the grand mogul, as weak as it was pompous, ſeeming to reſent this outrage, which had, in the reign of Aurengzebe, exterminated all the Engliſh in Aſia.

In ſhort, nothing more was left to the French in this part of the world than the regret of having

ving expended, in the ſpace of forty years and upwards, immenſe ſums to ſupport a company, who had never made the leaſt profit, and who had paid nothing to the proprietors and their creditors from their commercial profit; and which in its Indian adminiſtration had ſubſiſted only by means of ſecretly pilfering and plundering, and was ſupported only by renting of the king, a part of the tax on tobacco. A memorable example, though perhaps uſeleſs, from the ſmall knowledge that the French have had, 'till now, of the great and ruinous commerce with India.

At the ſame time that the fleets and armies of England had thus ruined the French in Aſia, they alſo drove them out of Africa. The French were maſters of the river Senegal, which is a branch of the Niger. There they had forts, and a great commerce of elephants teeth, gold duſt, gum arabic, ambergreaſe, and particularly, a traffic of negroes, who are ſometimes ſold by princes as if they were cattle, and who often ſell their own children, and ſometimes themſelves, to ſerve the Europeans in America. The Engliſh took all the forts which the French had built in theſe countries, and more than three millions of livres value, in the richeſt commodities.

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The laſt eſtabliſhment that remained in the poſſeſſion of the French here was Goree, which ſurrendered at diſcretion, and now they had loſt all footing in Africa.

But in America, they had ſuſtained much greater loſſes. Without entering here into the detail of an hundred ſkirmiſhes, and the loſs of all their forts, one after the other, let it ſuffice to ſay, that Louiſbourg was a ſecond time taken by the Engliſh, and its fortification and proviſions being in as bad a ſituation as it was the firſt time. Laſtly; at the very time that the Engliſh entered Surat at the mouth of the Indus, they took alſo Quebec, and all Canada, to the bottom of North America; and thoſe troops which had ventured a battle in the defence of Quebec, were beaten and almoſt deſtroyed, in ſpite of the efforts of general Montcalm, who was killed in the engagement, and much regretted in France. Thus one thouſand five hundred leagues of land, were, in one day loſt to France.

Theſe one thouſand five hundred leagues, three parts of which were frozen deſarts, were not perhaps a real loſs. Canada coſt a great deal, and remitted very little. If the tenth part of the money thrown away upon this colony had been employed to cultivate the waſte lands in France, it would have been of conſiderable

ſiderable advantage to them; but as the French were fond of keeping Canada,—they had one hundred years of trouble, and all the money ſquandered, without any return.

To complete the misfortune, almoſt all thoſe who had been employed in the king's name in this miſerable colony, were accuſed of the moſt horrible frauds, and they were ſent to the chatelet at Paris, during the time that the parliament were proceeding againſt Lally. He, after having an hundred times expoſed his life, loſt it by the hands of the executioner; while the Canadian extortioners were obliged only to make reſtitution, and were fined. Such is the difference in the deciſion of affairs, which, to appearance, are all the ſame.

At the time that the Engliſh thus attacked the French on the Continent, they alſo diſlodged them from the coaſt of the iſlands. Guadaloupe, though ſmall, yet flouriſhing, and where the fineſt ſugars are manufactured, fell into the Engliſh hands without a ſtroke in its defence.

In ſhort; they alſo took Martinico, which was the richeſt and beſt colony the French poſſeſſed.

The kingdom of France could not ſuffer theſe great diſaſters, without loſing likewiſe all the ſhips which they ſent to prevent them. Scarce

was

was a fleet put out to ſea but it was either taken or deſtroyed; they built and armed veſſels with the greateſt hurry. This was working for the Engliſh, to whom they ſoon became a prey.

When they would revenge ſuch a ſucceſſion of loſſes by making a deſcent into Ireland, it coſt them immenſe ſums for an abortive undertaking; for as ſoon as the fleet deſtined for this deſcent was ſailed from Breſt, it was either diſperſed or taken, or loſt in the mud of the river Vilaine, upon which they had in vain ſought a refuge. Laſtly; the Engliſh took Belleiſle in ſight of the coaſts of France, who could not ſuccour it.

The duke of Aiguillon alone revenged theſe coaſts, of numbers of affronts and loſſes. An Engliſh fleet having made another deſcent at St. Caſs near St. Malo, all the country was expoſed. The duke, who commanded, marched thither at the head of the Bretagne nobility, ſome battalions, and the militia, whom he met upon the road. He forced the Engliſh to re-embark. One party of their arrear guard was killed, and another made priſoners of war; but the French had otherwiſe been every way unfortunate.

The Engliſh had never ſuch a ſuperiority at ſea as at this time; but at all times they had it over the French. The naval force of France they

they deſtroyed in the war 1741; they annihilated the marine of Louis XIV. in the war of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; they triumphed at ſea in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Henry IV. and more ſo in the unhappy times of the league. Henry VIII. of England had the ſame advantage over Francis I.

If we examine into paſt times we ſhall find that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip de Valois, could not withſtand thoſe of the kings Henry V. and Edward III. of England.

What can be the reaſon of this continual ſuperiority? Is it not that the ſea is eſſentially neceſſary to the Engliſh, which the French can hardly do without, and that nations always ſucceed (as I have already remarked) in thoſe things for which they have an abſolute occaſion? Is it not alſo becauſe the capital of England is a ſea-port, and that Paris knows only the boats of the Seine? Is it that the Engliſh climate produces men of a more vigorous conſtitution, and a more ſteady mind than that of France, as it produces the beſt horſes and dogs for hunting? But from Bayonne, even to the coaſts of Picardy and Flanders, France has men of indefatigable induſtry, and Normandy alone has formerly ſubdued England.

Affairs were in this deplorable condition both by ſea and land, when a man of an active

and

and bold genius, but prudent, having views as great as thoſe of marſhal Belleiſle, with more ſpirit, obſerved that France could not alone repair ſo many enormous loſſes. He found means to engage Spain to ſupport the quarrel; he made it the common cauſe of all the branches of the houſe of Bourbon. By this means, Spain and Auſtria were joined with France in the ſame intereſt. Portugal was in effect an Engliſh province, from whom ſhe drew fifteen millions yearly. It was neceſſary for him to begin at this corner, and this was what determined Don Carlos, king of Spain, (by the death of his brother Ferdinand) to enter Portugal. This manœuvre was perhaps the greateſt politic ſcheme of which modern hiſtory makes mention; but even this did not ſucceed, for the Engliſh repulſed Spain, and ſaved Portugal.

Under Philip II. Spain alone conquered all Europe; and now, though joined to the French, could do nothing with England. Count de la Lippe Schombourg, a Weſtphalian lord, quite a youth, and who, until then, never had a command, and had even ſcarcely been in the ſervice, being ſent to the ſuccour of Portugal by the king of England, at the head of ſome Hanoverians and a few Engliſh, always drove the Spaniards back to their frontiers; and an Engliſh

liſh fleet made them pay dear in America for their tardy declaration in favour of France.

The Havanah, built upon the north coaſt of Cuba, the greateſt American iſland, at the entry of the gulf of Mexico, is the rendezvous of this new world. The harbour, as large as it was ſecure, could contain one thouſand veſſels: it is defended by three forts, from whence went a croſs fire, which rendered the landing impoſſible to enemies. The earl of Albemarle, and admiral Pocock came to attack the iſle, but took great care of approaching the port. They deſcended upon a diſtant flat ſhore, which was imagined impoſſible to be landed on: the moſt conſiderable fort they beſieged by land, which they took, and forced the town, the forts, and all the iſland to ſurrender, with twelve ſhips of war, which were in the port, and twenty-ſeven veſſels laden with treaſure. They found in the town twenty-four millions of livres in ſpecie, which was divided between the conquerors, who ſet aſide the ſixteenth part of this booty for the poor. The ſhips of war belonged of right to the king; but the merchantmen, to the admiral, and all the officers of the fleet, and the whole booty amounted to more than eighty millions. It has been remarked, that in this and the preceding war, Spain loſt more than

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they had drawn from America during the ſpace of twenty years.

The Engliſh, not content with having taken the Havanah in the Mexican ſea, and the iſland of Cuba, extended their conqueſts to the Philippine iſlands in the Indian ſea, which are very near the antipodes of Cuba. Theſe iſlands are not much leſs than thoſe of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and would be richer, if they were well managed, one of them having gold mines, and their coaſts producing pearls. The great Acapulco veſſel, loaded to the value of three millions of piaſtres arrived at Manilla, the capital, which the Engliſh took with the iſles and this ſhip, notwithſtanding the aſſurances given by the jeſuit, in the name of St. Potamienne, (the patron of the town) that Manilla would never be taken.

Thus the war, which impoveriſhed other nations, enriched one part of England, while the other groaned under the weight of the moſt rigorous taxes, as well as all other nations engaged in the war.

The French were at this time more unfortunate. All the reſources were exhauſted; almoſt all the citizens, by the king's example, converted their plate into money. The principal towns, and ſome ſocieties, agreed to furniſh men of war at their own expence; but

theſe

theſe ſhips were not yet built, and had they been ready, there were not ſeamen ſufficient to man them.

They were maſters of Flanders, and were on the point of taking Maeſtricht; but they wanted bread in all the ſouth parts of France, and had no more ſhipping in a condition to protect the veſſels, which could bring them corn; no more ſuccours, money or credit. Thoſe who had been choſen to manage the finances, after ſome months adminiſtration, were turned out, and others refuſed this employment, in which, at this juncture, it was impoſſible to act with ſatisfaction.

In this ſorrowful ſituation, which diſcouraged all orders of the kingdom, the duke de Praſlin, then miniſter of foreign affairs, was ingenious and happy enough to conclude a peace, the negotiation for which, had been ſet on foot by the duke de Choiſeul, miniſter of the war department.

The king of France exchanged Minorca (which he had agreed to reſtore to Spain) for Belleiſle, which the Engliſh reſtored to the French, who loſt (probably for ever) all Canada, with Louiſbourg, which had coſt ſo much money and pains only to be ſo often a prey to the Engliſh. All the land, upon the left of the great river Miſſiſſippi, was ceded to them.

Spain,

Spain, to compleat their conqueſts, alſo gave them Florida. Thus, from the twenty-fifth degree to the Pole, almoſt all is in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, who divided the American hemiſphere with the Spaniards. The latter, poſſeſs the lands which produce the riches of convention; the former, the real riches, purchaſed by ſilver and gold, all the neceſſaries of life, and every thing uſeful for manufactories. The Engliſh coaſts, for the ſpace of ſix hundred leagues, are divided by navigable rivers, by which their merchandizes are conveyed for forty or fifty leagues inland. The Germans were induced to people this acquired country, where they found a liberty which they were never ſo happy as to enjoy in their own. They became Engliſh; and if all theſe colonies remain united to their metropolis, it is not to be doubted but this eſtabliſhment, will, ſome time or other, make the moſt formidable power. The war commenced for a few pitiful huts, and England has gained two thouſand leagues of ground.

The ſmall iſlands of St. Vincent, the Grenades, Tobago and Dominica, were likewiſe gained by them; and it is by the means of theſe iſlands, as well as Jamaica, that they maintain an immenſe commerce with the Spaniards,—a commerce ſeverely prohibited, and always carried on, becauſe the ſubjects of both nations

nations gain by it, and that the law of neceſſity claims the preference to all others.

France could obtain only (and that with great difficulty) the right of fiſhing towards Newfoundland, and a little uncultivated iſland, named Michelon, to dry their cod-fiſh, under the reſtriction of not making the leaſt eſtabliſhment,—a pitiful right, always ſubject to encroachments.

She was alſo excluded in the Indies from her eſtabliſhment upon the Ganges. She ceded her poſſeſſions at Senegal in Africa, and was obliged to demoliſh the fortifications at Dunkirk on the ſea ſide.

This kingdom loſt, in the courſe of this horrible war, great part of the flower of its youth, more than half of the current money of the kingdom, its navy, commerce and credit. It was believed, that it was very eaſy to have prevented all theſe misfortunes, by giving up to the Engliſh a little piece of litigated ground towards Canada. But ſome ambitious perſons, to make themſelves neceſſary and important, plunged France into this fatal war. It was the ſame in the year 1741,—the ſelfiſhneſs of two or three individuals is ſufficient to deſolate all Europe. France had ſo preſſing an occaſion for this peace, that they conſidered the concluders of it as the ſaviours of their country.

The

The national debt was greater than that of Louis XIV. the extraordinary expences of this war amounted in one year, to four hundred millions: judge of the reſt by this; France would have been greatly the loſer, had ſhe even been victorious.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Interior Government of FRANCE. Quarrels and Adventures from 1750 to 1762.

FOR a long time before this terrible war, and, during its continuance, the interior parts of France were troubled with that ancient and indeterminable war between the ſecular juriſdiction, and the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. The extent of their power having never been limited as it now is in England, in other countries, and particularly in Ruſſia. Dangerous diſſentions will always ariſe as long as the rights of the monarchy, and thoſe of its different members are in diſpute.

About the year 1750, a miniſter of the finances was found bold enough to iſſue an order that the clergy, and the religious orders, ſhould give an account of their wealth; to the end that the king might ſee, by what they poſ-

ſeſſed, how far they were taxable. Never was a propoſition more juſt, but its conſequences gave it the appearance of a ſacrilege. An old biſhop of Marſeilles wrote to the comptroller-general thus: "Do not drive us to the neceſſity "of diſobeying either God, or our King; you "are ſenſible which of the two ſhould have "the preference." This letter from the biſhop, worn out with age, and incapable of writing, was written by a jeſuit named La Maire, who governed the biſhop and his houſe. This jeſuit was a zealous fanatic,—a ſort of men who are always dangerous.

The miniſter was obliged to drop an undertaking that he ought not to have hazarded, if it could not be ſupported. Some individuals of the clergy imagined now, that they could fully employ government by an embarraſſing diverſion, and put the ſpiritual body in arms, in order to make the temporal reſpect them. They knew that the famous bull Unigenitus, was held in execration by the people. It was reſolved to demand of dying perſons, confeſſional notes; and it was made neceſſary that theſe notes ſhould be ſigned by prieſts adhering to the bull, without which, no viaticum, no extreme unction; and theſe two conſolations were refuſed without pity to all appellants, and to thoſe who confeſſed to appellants. The archbiſhop

archbiſhop of Paris, engaged deeply in this manœuvre, more from theological zeal than factious inclination.

In the inſtant, every family was alarmed, the ſchiſm was announced, and many of the ſect of Janſeniſts began to exclaim, that if the ſacraments were to be obtained with ſuch difficulty, the people would ſoon diſpenſe with them, in imitation of other nations. Theſe inſignificant ſectaries engaged the attention of the Pariſians, more than all the important intereſts of Europe. They were a kind of inſects ſprung from the carcaſſes of Moliniſm, and Janſeniſm, which, buzzing round the city, ſtung all the citizens; no remembrance of Metz, of Fontenoy, of their diſgraces or victories, or of any of thoſe great events which had agitated all Europe. In Paris, there were fifty thouſand perſons poſſeſſed like devils, who knew not in what country the Danube, or the Elbe flowed, and who thought the univerſe overturned by theſe notes of confeſſion,—ſuch are the populace!

A curate of St. Etienne du Mont, a little pariſh of Paris, having refuſed the ſacrament to a counſellor of the chatelet, the parliament committed him to priſon.

The king beholding this little civil war, excited between the parliaments and biſhops, forbid his courts of judicature to intermeddle

with the affairs of the ſacraments, and reſerved the cognizance thereof to his privy-council. The parliaments complained that the exerciſe of the general police of the kingdom was taken from them, and the clergy impatiently ſubmitted to the royal authority, to quell theſe religious quarrels;—thus animoſities increaſed on all ſides.

The place of ſuperior of the hoſpital for poor girls, ſerved to light up the flames of diſcord. The archbiſhop claimed the prerogative of nomination, the parliament oppoſed it; and the king, having decided in favour of the prelate, the parliament ceaſed to perform its functions, and neglected the diſtribution of juſtice. He then found it expedient to ſend, by his muſqueteers, letters under his hand and ſeal, commanding them to re-aſſume their functions, under pain of diſobedience.

The chambers then ſet according to cuſtom; but when they were to hear cauſes, they could find no advocates. Theſe proceedings reſembled in ſome meaſure the time of the league; but being ſtripped of the horrors of civil war, they appeared only under a form ſuſceptible of abſurdity and ridicule.

This folly, however, was very embarraſſing. The king reſolved to extinguiſh, by his moderation, this fire which cauſed an apprehenſion

of

of a general conflagration. He exhorted the clergy not to uſe dangerous rigours; and the parliament proceeded again to buſineſs.

But ſoon after, the notes of confeſſion re-appeared, and freſh denials of the ſacraments irritated all Paris. The ſame curate of St. Etienne being found guilty of a ſecond prevarication, was ſent for to parliament, who forbad him, and all the curates, to give the like ſcandal under pain of a temporal ſeizure. The ſame decree invited the archbiſhop to put an end to this ſcandal by his own authority. This term of invitation ſeemed to agree with the views of the king's moderation. The archbiſhop would not even allow the ſecular power to have the right of giving him an invitation, and went to Verſailles and complained. He was ſupported in this by an ancient biſhop of Mirepoix, named Boyer, charged with the office of preſenting to the king, proper perſons for eccleſiaſtical benefices. This man, formerly Theatin, afterwards biſhop, and then miniſter of this department, was of a very limited underſtanding, but zealous for the immunities of the church, regarding the bull as an article of faith, and having great credit attached to his place. He inſinuated that the parliament undermined the authority of the church; the parliamentary decree

decree was annulled, which occaſioned ſtrong and pathetical remonſtrances on their part.

The king ordered that all theſe matters ſhould be left to him, and that they ſhould give an account of all the denunciations that were made upon theſe matters, reſerving to himſelf the right of puniſhing thoſe prieſts whoſe ſcandalous zeal ſhould revive the ſeeds of ſchiſm. By a ſentence of his council of ſtate, he forbid his ſubjects giving one another the names of Noveliſts, Janſeniſts, and Semi-pelagians;—this was ordering madmen to be wiſe.

The curates of Paris, excited by the archbiſhop, preſented a petition to the king, in favour of the notes of confeſſion. Immediately the parliament arreſted the curate of St. John's in Greves, who had framed the petition; and the king again annulled this proceeding of juſtice. The parliament neglected their buſineſs; and continued their remonſtrances, and the king perſiſted in exhorting the two parties to peace; but his cares proved uſeleſs.

A letter from the biſhop of Marſeilles, condemned by the parliament, was burnt by the hands of the hangman. A writing of the biſhop of Amiens ſhared the ſame fate; the clergy being aſſembled at this time at Paris, to pay five years ſubſidies to the king as uſual, reſolved to go in their pontificals, and preſent their

their complaints; but he would not receive them in this extraordinary ceremony.

On the other ſide, the parliament condemned a bearer of the ſacrament in a fine, to aſk pardon upon his knees, and to be admoniſhed; and a vicar of a pariſh to baniſhment, and the king annulled the ſentence.

Theſe troubleſome affairs multiplied. The king always recommended peace, although the eccleſiaſtics ſtill refuſed the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and the parliament continued to proceed againſt the divines.

At laſt, the king gave the parliaments permiſſion to judge of the ſacraments, in caſes brought before them; but he forbid them ſeeking juriſdiction, if the parties did not complain to them. They then a ſecond time reſumed their functions; and perſons at law, who had been neglected for theſe affairs, had the liberty to ruin themſelves according to cuſtom.

The fire ſtill lay hid under the aſhes. The archbiſhop having ordered the ſacrament to be refuſed to two poor old nuns of St. Agathe, who had formerly underſtood the bull unigenitus to be a diabolical work, who feared to incur damnation if they received this bull at their deaths, and were alſo fearful of it, if they failed receiving extreme unction, the parliament ſent their regiſter to the archbiſhop,

and prayed him not to refuſe the common aſſiſtance to theſe two women; and the prelate anſwering, according to cuſtom, that he ought not to account to any one but God alone, his temporalities were ſeized, and the princes of the blood, and the peers, were invited to come and take their ſeats at parliament.

The quarrel then might have become ſerious; and it was feared that the times of the league were again appearing. The king forbid his princes and peers to go and vote in the parliament upon thoſe matters, which right he attributed to his privy-council. The archbiſhop of Paris had even the credit to obtain a ſentence of the council, to diſſolve the little community of St. Agathe, where the women had ſo bad an opinion of the bull of unigenitus.

All Paris murmured. Theſe little troubles ſpread in more than one town; the ſame ſcandals, the ſame denials of the ſacraments divided the town of Orleans. The parliaments iſſued the ſame ordinances for Orleans as for Paris; the ſchiſm made head again itſelf. A curate of Roſainvillers, a dioceſe of Amiens, thought proper to ſay to his audience, "That theſe "which were Janſeniſts muſt depart the church, "and that he would be the firſt to dip his hands "in their blood." He had the audacioufneſs to point out ſome people of his pariſh, at whom the

the moſt fervent conſtitutionaliſts threw ſtones during the proceſſion, without either the ſtoners or the ſtoned having the leaſt knowledge of the meaning of the bull, and janſeniſm.

Such a violence might have been puniſhed with death. The parliament of Paris, (Amiens being within its juriſdiction) was contented to baniſh for life, this factious and ſanguinary prieſt; and the king approved of this ſentence, which was not inflicted purely for a ſpiritual diſcourſe, but for the crime of ſedition, and diſturbance of the public repoſe.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, Louis XV. was, like a father, buſied in parting two fighting children. He forbad blows and inſults; he reprimanded one party and exhorted the other; he ordered ſilence, forbidding the parliaments to judge in ſpiritual affairs, and recommending circumſpection to the biſhops, regarding the bull as a law of the church, but not willing that they ſhould inſiſt upon ſo dangerous a point. His paternal care could do but little with animated, revengeful minds.

The parliaments pretended that they could not ſeparate the ſpiritual from the civil, and that ſpiritual quarrels neceſſarily introduced civil commotions. The parliament of Paris ſummoned the biſhop of Orleance to appear for the ſacraments, and ordered the hangman

to burn all the writings in which its juriſdiction was conteſted, except the declarations of the king, ſending counſellors to regiſter their decree in the Sorbonne, in ſpite of the king's orders. The hangman was ſeen daily employed in burning the mandates of the biſhops, and the tribunals of juſtice enforced the adminiſtration of the ſacraments to the ſick, by military aid. The parliament in all its ſteps conſulted only its own laws, and the maintenance of its authority; the king had a farther view, and conſidered thoſe political conveniences which often require the laws to give way.

In ſhort, for the third time, the parliament ceaſed to diſtribute juſtice to the citizens, and employed themſelves ſolely about the refuſal of the ſacraments, which agitated all France.

The king ſent alſo to parliament, for the third time, mandatory letters, ordering them to fulfil their duties, and not to make his ſubjects, having ſuits depending, ſuffer any longer delay for theſe foreign diſputes; the affairs of private perſons having no relation to the bull unigenitus.

The parliament replied, that they ſhould violate their oath if they acknowledged the letters patent of the king, and that they could not *obtempérer*, (an old word, derived from the Latin, ſignifying to obey.)

The

The king then thought himſelf obliged to baniſh all the members *des enquettes*, ſome to Bourges, others to Poitiers, and the reſt to Auvergne, and to order four of them to impriſonment, who had ſpoken with the greateſt zeal.

The grand chamber was ſpared; but even they thought it was not to their honour to be ſo, and perſiſted in their neglect of juſtice, and proceeding againſt the refractory. The king then ſent them to Pontoiſe, a village ſix miles from Paris, where the duke of Orleans had already ſent them during his regency.

All Europe was aſtoniſhed that they made ſo much noiſe in France for ſo trifling an affair; and the French paſſed for a frivilous nation, who, for want of enforcing good laws, put every thing in diſorder about a diſpute every where elſe deſpiſed. After having ſeen five hundred thouſand men in arms for the election of an emperor; and Europe, India, and America deſolated, that they ſhould afterwards fall back into this paper-war, reſembled a gentle ſhower of rain after a thunder-ſtorm. But it ought to be recollected, that Germany, Sweden, Holland and Switzerland had formerly experienced much greater confuſions for ſuch abſurdities; that the inquiſition of Spain was

worſe

worſe than a civil war, and that every nation has its follies and misfortunes.

The parliament of Normandy imitated the Pariſian with regard to the ſacraments, citing the biſhop of Evreux, and alſo neglecting the adminiſtration of juſtice. His majeſty ſent an officer of his guards to cancel their regiſters. They were at laſt more obedient than that of Paris.

Diſtributive juſtice interrupted in the capital, would have been a great happineſs, if mankind were juſt and wiſe; but as they are neither one nor the other, and will go to law, the king ordered the members of his ſtate-council, to determine all proceſſes brought before them by appeal. He ordered his commiſſion, inſtituting this juriſdiction, to be enregiſtered at the Chatelet; as if it were neceſſary for an inferior court to give authenticity to the royal authority. The uſe of theſe regiſters has almoſt always had its inconveniencies; but this default of formality might, perhaps, have ſtill greater. The Chatelet refuſed to enregiſter; but they were obliged to it by mandatory letters. The royal council aſſembled, but the advocates would not plead; they were made a joke of in Paris; they even laughed at their own commiſſion; every thing was turned into pleaſantry, according to the genius of this nation,

which always laughs the next day, at what has cauſed a general conſternation and alarm the preceding evening. The eccleſiaſtics, on their part, could hardly contain their exceſſive joy on this freſh triumph.

Boyer, the old biſhop of Mirepoix, who had been the firſt author of all theſe troubles, though not intentionally, being fallen into a dotage, owing to his great age, and the weak conſtruction of his organs: every thing now inclined to a conciliation; and the miniſtry negotiated with the parliament of Paris, which was recalled, and came back, to the ſatisfaction of the whole town, uſhered in with the acclamations of the populace, who cried, Long live the parliament! its return was in triumph. His majeſty, who was as much fatigued with the inflexibility of the divines as of the parliaments, ordered peace and ſilence, and permitted the ſecular judges to proceed againſt thoſe who diſturbed either.

Yet the ſchiſm broke out from time to time in Paris and the provinces; and, in ſpite of the meaſures that the king had taken to prevent the refuſal of the ſacraments, many biſhops endeavoured to make a merit of it at the court of Rome. A biſhop of Nantz having given in his town this example of rigour, or ſcandal, was condemned by the preſidial of Nantz, to

pay

pay a fine of ſix thouſand francs, and ſubmitted to the ſentence without any relief from the royal interpoſition, ſo heartily tired was the king grown of theſe diſputes.

The like ſcenes happened in all the kingdom; and while they afflicted the parties intereſted, they amuſed the idle multitude. In Orleans, there was an old canon, a Janſeniſt, who died, to whom his brother canons refuſed the communion; and the parliament of Paris condemned them to pay twelve thouſand livres, and gave orders that the ſick ſhould receive the communion. The lieutenant criminal of conſequence ſet every thing in order for this ceremony, as for an execution; the prebends, however, ſo contrived that their brother died without the ſacraments, and they buried him in the moſt pitiful manner they could.

Nothing was become more common in the kingdom than to adminiſter the communion by a ſentence of parliament. The king having baniſhed his ſecular judges, for not having obtempéré to his orders, in order to ſhew his impartiality, baniſhed alſo ſuch of the clergy as were ſtifly bent on ſchiſm, and began with the archbiſhop of Paris. He was confined to his houſe at Conflans, about three leagues from the town;—a ſweet exile, which reſembled rather *a paternal* reſtraint than a puniſhment.

The

The biſhops of Orleans and Troy were in like manner baniſhed to their country-houſes, and with the ſame mildneſs. The archbiſhop of Paris being ſtill as inflexible in his exile as when in his epiſcopal dignity, was baniſhed to a greater diſtance.

The parliament of Paris now acting unreſtrained, reproved the Sorbonne, who, having formerly regarded the bull with horror, now looked upon it as an article of faith. The Sorbonne threatened to ſtop their public lectures; and the parliament, which had itſelf neglected more important buſineſs, ordered this faculty to continue theirs. They maintained the liberties of the Gallican church, and the king approved it; but when the parliament went too far, the king ſtopped them, by confirming thoſe decrees which tended to the public good, and by annulling thoſe which appeared to him to be raſh and intemperate.

This monarch always ſaw himſelf between two powerful, animated factions, as the Roman emperors were between the blue and green. He was taken up with the maritime war, which England was juſt beginning with him. A land-war appeared inevitable; and it was no longer a time to contend about bulls.

But it was ſtill neceſſary for the king to appeaſe the *diſputes* ſubſiſting between his grand

council and the parliaments; for ſcarcely any thing being determined in France by preciſe laws; the bounds and privileges of each body being uncertain; the clergy being always inclined to extend their juriſdiction; the chamber of accounts having diſputed with the parliaments many of their prerogatives; the peers having often pleaded theirs againſt the parliament of Paris, it was not to be wondered at, that the grand council ſhould likewiſe have diſputes with them.

This grand council was originally the king's council, and uſed to accompany the ſovereigns in all their travels. Every thing by degrees altered in public adminiſtration, and the grand council changed alſo. Under Charles VIII. it was only a court of judicature; it decided concerning evocations, the competency of judges, and all proceedings reſpecting all the benefices of the kingdom, except the regal; and had a right alſo to try its proper officers. A counſellor, belonging to this court, was ſummoned to the Chatelet for debt; the grand council claimed the cauſe, and ſet aſide the ſentence of the Chatelet. Immediately the parliament was in an alarm, and rendered void the ſentence of the grand council, and the king annulled that of the parliament. Freſh remonſtrances, freſh *quarrels* ſucceeded; all the parliaments roſe

againſt

againſt the grand council, and the public divided on the diſpute. The parliament of Paris again convoked the peers to aſſemble in a body about this diſpute, and the king forbad his peers to aſſemble;—thus this affair, like many others, remains undecided.

In the mean time, the king had more important occupations. It was neceſſary to carry on againſt the Engliſh, a burthenſome war both by ſea and land; yet he eſtabliſhed, at this time, the memorable foundation of the military ſchool, the fineſt monument of his reign, and which the empreſs-queen, Maria-Thereſa, has ſince imitated. He wanted money for theſe great concerns, and the parliaments heſitated not a little in regiſtering the edicts, which ordered the collection of two twentieths; they have been ſince obliged to pay three; becauſe, whenever there is a war, either the citizens muſt fight or pay thoſe that will; there is no alternative.

The king held a bed of juſtice at Verſailles, where he convoked the princes and the peers, with the Pariſian parliament. There he ordered his edict to be regiſtered; but the parliament of Paris proteſted againſt it, and pretended that it not only had been deprived of the neceſſary liberty of examination, but that this edict required modifications which would neither pre-

judice

judice the intereſts of the king nor thoſe of the kingdom, which are in reality the ſame, which it was bound to maintain; and ſaid further, that its duty was not to pleaſe but to ſerve;—thus zeal combatted obedience.

The thorns of ſchiſm interfered with this important affair of the taxes. A counſellor of the parliament lying ſick at his country houſe, in the dioceſe of Meaux, demanded the ſacraments; a miniſter refuſed them to him as an enemy of the church, and let him die without this ſolemn rite. They proceeded againſt the miniſter, who fled.

The archbiſhop of Aix made a new formulary upon the bull, and the parliament of Aix ſentenced him to pay ten thouſand livres to the poor; thus he loſt his formulary and his money.

The biſhop of Troyes having troubled his dioceſe, the king ſent him priſoner to a monaſtery in Alſace. The archbiſhop of Paris, who had been permitted to return to Conflans, pronounced an excommunication againſt thoſe who read the ordinances and remonſtrances of the parliament upon the bull and letters of confeſſion.

Louis XV. embarraſſed by ſuch a number of animoſities, carried his circumſpection ſo far as to aſk the advice of pope Lambertini, Benedict XIV, a man as moderate as himſelf, be-

loved

loved throughout Chriſtendom for the mildneſs and vivacity of his character, and whoſe loſs is to this hour regretted. He never engaged in any affair but to recommend peace; his ſecretary of the briefs, cardinal Paſſionei, was his principal agent, and at that time the only man of letters in the ſacred college. He was of ſo elevated a genius as to deſpiſe the diſputes in queſtion; he hated the jeſuits who had fabricated the bull, and could not be ſilent upon the falſe ſtep that had been made at Rome, by condemning in this bull, virtuous maxims, whoſe truth is immortal, and adapted to all times and nations. The following for example, "the fear "of an unjuſt excommunication ought not to "hinder us from the performance of our duty."

This maxim is in all the world, the ſafeguard of virtue. All the ancients and moderns have ſaid, that duty ought to prevail over the fear of puniſhment.

But however ſurpriſing the bull appeared in more than one point, neither the cardinal Paſſionei, nor the pope, could retract a conſtitution regarded as a law of the church. Benedict XIV. ſent to the king a circular letter for all the biſhops of France, in which he acknowledged this bull as an univerſal law, againſt which no reſiſtance could be made, "without endange-"ring their eternal ſalvation;" but decided

finally

finally, that, "to avoid ſcandal, it was ne-
"ceſſary for the prieſt to caution ſick perſons,
"who were ſuſpected of janſeniſm, that they
"incurred damnation, and then to let them
"communicate at their peril."

The ſame pope, in his private letter to the king, recommended to him the epiſcopal rights. When a pope is conſulted upon any occaſion whaetver, we muſt expect that his advice will be conformable to his ſtation.

But Benedict XIV. while he maintained the reſpect due to his rank, did all he could in favour of the king's authority, of general benevolence, and of the peace of the nation. His brief, addreſſed to the biſhops, was printed; the parliament had the courage, or rather the raſhneſs to condemn and ſuppreſs it by an arret. This proceeding offended the king ſtill more, becauſe it was he who had ſent this brief to the biſhops which the parliament had condemned. In this brief, neither the liberties of the Gallican church, or the royal authority, were mentioned, which the parliament had maintained and vindicated at all times. The court diſcovered in the cenſure of the parliament more ill-humour than moderation.

The council believed that they had another ſubject on which they could reprove the parliament at Paris; many other ſuperior courts,

which

which bore the name of parliaments, intitled themſelves, "Claſſes of the parliament of the "kingdom;" a title which the chancellor of the hoſpital had given them, and ſignified only the union of the parliaments in the intelligence and maintenance of the laws. The parliaments did not pretend to repreſent the whole ſtate divided into different companies, which all together making a ſingle body, conſtitute the perpetual ſtates-general of the kingdom. This idea would have been very great, but it would have been too much, and the royal authority was enraged at it.

Theſe conſiderations, joined to the difficulty that was made upon the enregiſtering the taxes, determined the king to come and reform the parliament of Paris by holding a bed of juſtice.

Though the miniſtry kept this meaſure a profound ſecret, ſtill it tranſpired to the public. The king was received in Paris with a melancholy ſilence. The public conſider parliaments only as the enemies of taxes, and never examine if theſe taxes are neceſſary; nor even make the reflection, that they ſell their labour and merchandizes in proportion to them, and that the burthen falls upon the rich, who conſequently are the firſt to complain, and to encourage the murmurs of the populace.

In

In this war, the Engliſh had been loaded with taxes more than the French; but that people tax themſelves, and know how to reimburſe themſelves for their public loans. France is taxed, and never knows upon what ſhall be aſſigned the funds deſtined for the payment of their loans. In England, the public taxes are not farmed to individuals, who enrich themſelves at the nation's expence; but this is the caſe in France. The parliaments of France have always made remonſtrances to the king againſt this abuſe; but there are times when theſe remonſtrances, and particularly making difficulties about enregiſtering, are more dangerous than the taxes themſelves, becauſe a war demands preſent ſuccour, and the abuſes of theſe ſupplies cannot be corrected, perhaps, but with length of time.

The king came to parliament, and ordered an edict to be read, by which he ſuppreſſed two chambers of this body, and ſeveral officers. Ordered, That the bull unigenitus ſhould be reſpected, and forbid the ſecular judges to order the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, permitting them only to judge of abuſes and offences committed in adminiſtring them. He enjoined the biſhops to preſcribe to all their miniſters, diſcretion and moderation, and recommended that *all paſt* quarrels ſhould be buried in oblivion.

He

He ordered that no counſellor ſhould have a deliberate voice before he was twenty-five years of age; and that no one could vote in the aſſembly of the chambers 'till he had ſerved ten years; and, finally, made the moſt expreſs "inhibitions againſt interupting, under any "pretence whatever, the ordinary buſineſs."

The chancellor put theſe orders to the vote for form's ſake; but the parliament kept a profound ſilence. The king then ſaid, he would be obeyed, and that "he would puniſh who-"ever dared to ſwerve from his duty."

The next day fifteen counſellors of the great chamber lodged their reſignation at the office. One hundred and twenty-four members of parliament ſoon followed their example, and univerſal murmurings prevailed throughout the city.

Among ſuch a number of diſputes which occaſioned a general fermentation in the midſt of a horrid war, and in this confuſed ſtate of the finances, which rendered this war ſtill more dangerous, and irritated the animoſity of the malecontents. In ſhort, amidſt the thorns of diviſion ſown on all ſides between the magiſtrates and clergy; in ſuch a general uproar, it was very difficult to do any good, and it remained only to prevent the execution of much evil.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

An Attempt againſt the King's Perſon.

THESE emotions of the people were ſoon buried in a general conſternation, occaſioned by a moſt horrid and unforeſeen accident. The king was ſtabbed in the court of Verſailes on the 5th of January 1757, in the preſence of his ſon, and in the midſt of his guards and the great officers of the crown. The following is an account of this ſtrange event:

A miſerable wretch, of the dregs of the people, named Robert Francois Damiens, born in a village near Arras, had been a conſiderable time a ſervant in ſeveral houſes in Paris; he was a man whoſe gloomy and fiery diſpoſition had always bordered upon madneſs.

The general murmurs that he had heard in all public places; in the grand hall of the palace, and elſewhere, heated his imagination. He went to Verſailles like a diſtracted perſon, and in thoſe agitations, which his inconceivable deſign threw him into, he deſired to be blooded at his inn. Phyſic has ſo great an influence over the ſouls of men, that he proteſted afterwards

wards in his interrogatories, "that if his re-
"queſt had been complied with, viz. bleeding,
"he ſhould not have committed the crime."

His deſign was the moſt unheard-of that ever entered the head of a monſter of this ſpecie; he did not want to kill the king, as in effect he declared ſince, and as unfortunately he could have done, but he was reſolved to wound him, and this is in reality what he declared in his criminal proſecution before the parliament.

"I had not the intention of killing the king.
"I could have done it, had I had the in-
"clination. I only wounded him, that God
"might touch him, and incline him to re-eſta-
"bliſh all things in order, and to reſtore the
"tranquility of his dominions; and the arch-
"biſhop of Paris is the ſole cauſe of all theſe
"troubles."

This idea had inflamed his head to ſuch a degree, that in another interrogation he ſaid:

"I have mentioned counſellors of parlia-
"ment, becauſe I have ſerved one, and be-
"cauſe almoſt all men are enraged at the
"conduct of my lord the archbiſhop." In a word, fanaticiſm had troubled the mind of this unfortunate man to ſuch a point, that in the interrogatories he underwent at Verſailles, are found theſe his own words:

" Being interrogated what motives had ex-
" cited him to aſſaſſinate the king's perſon, he
" replied, That it was for the cauſe of re-
" ligion."

All the aſſaſſinators of Chriſtian princes have urged this cauſe. The king of Portugal had not been aſſaſſinated but by virtue of the deciſion of three jeſuits. It is very well known that Henry III. and IV. of France, periſhed by the hands of fanaticks; but with this difference, they loſt their lives becauſe they appeared to be enemies of the pope; and the life of Louis XV. was attempted becauſe he ſeemed to be too obliging towards him.

The aſſaſſin was furniſhed with a ſpring-knife, at one end carrying a long ſharp-pointed blade, and at the other, a penknife about four inches in length. He waited for the moment when the king ſhould ſtep into his coach to go to Trianon. It was near ſix in the evening; quite dusky, and exceeding cold; almoſt all the courtiers wore cloaks, which, by corruption, are called redingottes. Damiens thus dreſſed, proceeded towards the guards, and, in paſſing, run againſt the Dauphin; he then forced his way through the file of gardes du corps, and one hundred Swiſs, accoſted the king and ſtabbed him with the penknife in the fifth rib, then put his knife into his pocket

again,

again, and remained with his hat upon his head. The king, finding himſelf wounded, turned about, and eſpying this ſtranger who was covered, and whoſe eyes ſtared wildly, he ſaid, "That is the man who ſtabbed me, arreſt "him, but do him no harm.

Whilſt every one was ſeized with fright and horror; the king carried in to his bed; ſurgeons fought, and it was uncertain whether his wound was mortal or not, or whether the knife was empoiſoned; the parricide often repeated, "Let them take care of Monſeigneur le Dau- "phin, that he does not go out the whole day."

At theſe words, the univerſal alarm redoubled. It was not doubted that there was a conſpiracy againſt the royal family; every one figured to himſelf the greateſt dangers, the greateſt and moſt premeditated crimes.

Happily, the king's wound was but ſlight; but the general trouble was conſiderable; and fears, ſuſpicions and intrigues multiplied at court. The grand provoſt of the houſhold, to whom the puniſhment of crimes, committed in the king's palace, belongs, immediately ſeized the villain, and commenced the proceedings in form, as practiſed at St. Cloud on the aſſaſſination of Henry III. An exempt of the provoſt's guard having obtained a little confidence, either ſeeming or real, in the alie-

nated mind of this miſerable wretch, engaged him to be ſo hardy as to write a letter to the king *. Damiens write to the king! An aſſaſſin write to him whom he had aſſaſſinated! His

* Sir, "I am very ſorry † I had the misfortune to "aſſault you; but if you do not take your people's part, "before ſome years have expired, you and Monſieur le "Dauphin, and ſome others, will periſh. It will be a "pity that ſo good a prince, for the kindneſs he has for "eccleſiaſtics, in whom he places all his confidence, "ſhould not be ſure of his life; and if you have not the "goodneſs to remedy it in a little time, very great miſ-"fortunes will ariſe. Your kingdom not being in ſurety, "unhappily for you, your ſubjects have given you up. "The affair comes only from the clergy; and if you "have not the goodneſs for your people, to order the ad-"miniſtration of the ſacraments at the time of death, they "having refuſed it ſince your ſitting in juſtice, and alſo, "the chatelet having ſold the moveables of the prieſt who "fled. I repeat it to you, your life is not in ſafety; I "ſpeak from good authority, and I take the liberty of "informing you of it, by the officer who brings you this, "and in whom I have placed all my confidence. The "archbiſhop of Paris is the cauſe of all this trouble, by "his ordering the ſacraments to be refuſed. After the "cruel crime that I have committed againſt your ſacred "perſon, the ſincere confeſſion I take the liberty of ma-"king to you, gives me hope that I ſhall receive the good-"neſs of your majeſty's clemency.

"Signed, DAMIENS."

† This letter is found in page 69, of the proceſs againſt Damiens, given to the public by the criminal regiſter of the parliament, by permiſſion of his ſuperiors.

His letter is ridiculous, and conformable to the abjectneſs of his ſtate; but it diſcovers the object of his fury. In it is ſeen, that the pub-

At the back of the ſaid letter is written, flouriſhed, *ne varietur*, agreeable to, and at the deſire of the interrogator of Francis Damiens, dated the 9th day of January 1757 at Verſailles, preſent, the king.

Signed, DAMIENS.

The clerks Du Brillet and Duvoigne, with flouriſhes.

And lower down is written: To the king.

Then follows the tenor of a writing, Signed, DAMIENS.

(Copy of the billet.)

Meſſieurs, Chagrange, ſecond,
Baiſſe de Liſſe *,
De la Guiomye,
Clement,
Lambert,
The preſident de Rieux Bonnainvilliers,
Preſident de Maſſy, and almoſt all.

It is neceſſary that the king re-eſtabliſh his parliament, and ſupport them, with a promiſe of doing nothing to theſe above-mentioned and their company.

Signed, DAMIENS.

And further is written.

Flouriſhed, *ne varietur*, agreeable to, and at the deſire of the interrogator of this day, being the 9th of January 1757.

Signed, DAMIENS.

The clerks Du Brillet and Duvoigne, with a flouriſh.

The ſaid letter.

* This wretch mangled the names of almoſt all of whom he ſpoke.

lic complaints against the archbishop had turned the criminal's brain, and excited him to his vile attempt. It appeared by the names of the members of parliament, cited in his letter, that he knew them by serving one of their brethren; but it would have been absurd to suppose that they had explained their sentiments to him, and much less that they had ever told him, or even dropped a word to encourage the crime.

So the king did not hesitate to refer his punishment to those of the grand chamber, who had not resigned. He insisted even that the princes and peers should, by their presence, add more authenticity and solemnity, in all points, to the trial in the eyes of the public, who are as suspicious, as curious exaggerators, and who always go, in those frightful adventures, beyond the truth, — never, in effect, did truth appear more clearly.

It is evident, that this mad fellow had no accomplice. He always declared, he did not think of killing the king; but that he had formed the design to wound him ever since the banishment of the parliament.

Directly, upon the first interrogation, he said, "That religion alone had determined him to "this attempt."

He acknowledged that he only spoke bad of the Molinists, and those who refused the sacraments;

ments; and that these people, the Molinists, apparently believe in two Gods.

He cried out on the torture, "I thought I "should have done a meritorious work for hea- "ven; and it is what I have heard said by all "the priests in the palace." He constantly persisted in saying that it was the archbishop of Paris, the refusal of the sacraments, and the disgraces of the parliament, that had stirred him to this act of parricide; he declared the same again to his confessors. This unfortunate man was no more than a foolish fanatic, less abominable, in fact, than Ravillac and John Chatel, but more mad, and having no more accomplices than those two furies had. The common accomplices for these monsters are fanatics, whose heated brains light up, without knowing it, a fire in weak desperate, hardened minds. A few words dropped by chance is sufficient to set them in flames. Damiens acted under the same illusion as Ravillac, and died in the same torments.

Such is the effect of fanaticism and the destiny of kings. Henry III. and IV. were assassinated because they supported their rights against the clergy; and Louis XV. because he was reproached with using too little severity against one. Behold three kings, upon whom the

hands of parricides have fallen, in a country renowned for the love of its ſovereigns!

The father, wife and daughter of Damiens, although innocent, were baniſhed the kingdom, with a prohibition againſt returning under pain of death; and, by the ſame ſentence, they were obliged to quit their name of Damiens, which was become execrable.

This event occaſioned thoſe, who by their unhappy eccleſiaſtical quarrels had been the cauſe of this great crime, to return, for ſome time, to their ſenſes. It is too evidently ſeen what a dogmatical ſpirit, and the bigotry of religion, can produce. No one could have imagined that a bull, and tickets of confeſſion, could have had ſuch horrible events; but ſo it is, that the foibles and fury of mankind are cloſely united. The ſpirits of Poltrot, and James Clement, which were reputed to be annihilated, ſtill ſubſiſt in the ſouls of the ignorant and ferocious. Reaſon in vain guides the principal citizens; the populace are always inclined to fanaticiſm; and perhaps there is no other remedy to this contagion, than to enlighten, in the end, even the populace; but, inſtead of that, they are educated in ſuperſtition, and afterwards men are aſtoniſhed at the conſequences of it.

In the mean time, ſixteen counſellors, who had reſigned, were ſent into exile; and one of

them

them * who had been clerk, and afterwards was made counſellor of honour, celebrated for his patriotic principles and eloquence, eſtabliſhed a perpetual maſs, to return God thanks for having preſerved the life of that king who baniſhed him.

Many officers of the parliament of Benſançon were confined in different towns for having refuſed to regiſter the ſecond twentieth penny, and giving a decree againſt the intendant of the province.

His majeſty, notwithſtanding the wicked attempt made upon his perſon, and in ſpite of a ruinous war, conſtantly and carefully employed himſelf in ſtifling the quarrels of his parliament and clergy, endeavouring to contain each power in its proper limits, baniſhing the archbiſhop of Paris once more, for having acted contrary to his laws in the election of the ſuperior of a convent. He afterwards recalled this prelate, ſtill rendering his reſolution the more reſpectable by his moderation. At length, the affairs even of the parliament of Paris were accommodated; the members of this body, who had reſigned, reſumed their poſts and functions; and every thing promiſed tranquility at home, 'till falſe zeal, and the ſpirit of party, ſhould occaſion freſh troubles.

* L'Abbé de Chauvelin.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Assassination of the King of PORTUGAL. The Expulsion of the Jesuits from thence, and afterwards from FRANCE.

A RELIGIOUS order ought not to make any part of a history. No historian of antiquity has entered into a detail of the establishments of the priests of either Cybele or Isaac. It is one of the misfortunes of our European police, that the Monks, destined to ignorance by their institution, have made as much noise in the world as princes; either by their immense riches, or the troubles they have excited ever since their institution.

It is well known, that the jesuits were the actual sovereigns of Paraguay, while they acknowledged the king of Spain for its master. The Spanish court had, by a treaty of exchange, ceded certain districts of these lands to king Joseph of Portugal, of the house of Braganza, who accused the jesuits of having opposed this cession, and caused the people to revolt, who ought to have submitted to the government of the Portugueze. This, joined to a number of other injuries, occasioned the jesuits to be driven from the court of Lisbon.

Some

Some time after, the Tavora family, and particularly the duke d'Aveiro, uncle to the young countess Ataïde d'Atouguia; the old marquis and marchioness of Tavora, the parents of the young countess; and, in short, count Ataïde her husband, and one of this unfortunate lady's brothers, imagining that they had received from the king an irreparable injury, resolved to revenge themselves;—vengeance and superstition are mutually linked. The meditators of a wicked attempt will always seek casuists and confessors to encourage them in their villany; and this family, thinking themselves thus abused, concerted with three jesuits, viz. Malagrida, Alexander and Mathos. Those casuists declared, that to take away the life of the king was only committing a sin, which they termed venial.

To understand this decision more clearly, it is necessary we should know that the casuists make a distinction between the sins which lead to hell, and those which conduct us to purgatory for a certain time: between the sins that the absolution of a priest can forgive, either by the means of prayer, or the distribution of alms, and those which are pardoned without any satisfaction. The first, are considered as mortal, the latter, venial.

Auricular

Auricular confeſſion occaſioned a parricide in Portugal as it had done in other countries. What was introduced as an expiation of crimes, has been the means of committing them;—ſuch is, as we have often remarked in this hiſtory, the deplorable condition of humanity!

The conſpirators, furniſhed with their pardon for the other world, waited the king's return to Liſbon, from a little country-houſe, alone, without domeſtics, and in the night; they fired into his coach, and dangerouſly wounded him.

All the accomplices, except one domeſtic, were ſeized. Some periſhed by the wheel, and the others were beheaded. The counteſs d'Ataïde, whoſe huſband was executed, went, by order of the king, to bewail in a convent, thoſe horrible misfortunes which ſhe was thought to be the cauſe of. The jeſuits alone, who had adviſed and authoriſed this aſſaſſination, by the means of confeſſion—(means as dangerous as they are ſacred) at that time eſcaped puniſhment.

Portugal, not having then received that intellectual knowledge which had opened the eyes of ſo many European kingdoms, was under greater ſubmiſſion to the pope than any other ſtate. The king was not permitted to condemn to death, by his judges, a monk guilty of a parricide,

ricide, without the consent of Rome. Other nations were in the 18th, but the Portuguese seemed to be still in the 12th century.

Posterity, will scarcely believe that the king of Portugal solicited Rome upwards of a whole year, for permission to try the jesuits though they were his subjects, and could not obtain it. The courts of Lisbon and Rome were, for a long time, at open variance, and every body flattered themselves that Portugal would shake off a yoke that England, her ally and protectress, had so long trampled under foot; but the Portuguese minister had too many enemies to dare to undertake what the court of London had executed; however, his conduct express'd both great resolution, and an extreme condescension.

The jesuits, who were most culpable, were imprisoned in Lisbon, where the king let them remain, and took this occasion to send to Rome all the jesuits of his dominions, afterwards declaring them for ever banished his kingdom; but yet dared not to deliver up to death those three, who were accused and convicted of the parricide. The king was reduced to the expedient of delivering Malagrida to the inquisition, on suspicion of having formerly advanced some rash propositions, which bordered upon heresy.

The Dominicans, the judges of the holy office, and assistants of the grand inquisitor,

were

were never well affected towards the jeſuits, and paid more obedience to the king of Portugal than they did to Rome. Theſe monks diſcovered a little book of the "heroic life of "St. Ann, mother of Mary, dictated to the re"verend father Malagrida by St. Ann herſelf." She declared to him that ſhe had experienced the immaculate conception as well as her daughter, that ſhe had ſpoken and cried in her mother's womb, and alſo that ſhe had made the Cherubims weep. All the writings of Malagrida were of a piece with this; beſides, he had made predictions, and performed miracles, and that of experiencing nocturnal pollutions in his priſon, at the age of ſeventy-five, was not one of the leaſt. With all this he was reproached in his proceſs; upon which he was condemned to the flames, without their even mentioning the aſſaſſination of the king, becauſe that was a fault againſt a ſecular only, and the other offences were againſt God;—thus exceſs of ridicule and abſurdity were joined to the extremity of horror. He was brought to judgment as a prophet, and burnt for being a madman only, and not for attempting the king's life.

Whilſt the jeſuits were driven from Portugal, this adventure rouſed the hatred that France bore towards them, where they were always

powerful

powerful and deteſted. It happened that one of their order, named la Valette, chief of the miſſionaries at Guadaloupe, and the greateſt merchant in the iſland, became a bankrupt for upwards of three millions. Every one who was intereſted, complained to the parliament of Paris. They now thought they had diſcovered that the General of the order, reſident at Rome, had managed the wealth of the ſociety in a deſpotic manner; and the parliament decreed that the preſident, and the whole ſociety of jeſuits ſhould diſcharge the debt of la Valette.

The proceſs, which excited the hatred of France againſt the jeſuits, induced them to examine this ſingular inſtitution, which rendered an Italian General, abſolute maſter over the perſons and fortunes of a French ſociety. They were ſurpriſed to find, that the order of jeſuits was never formally received in France by the major part of the French parliaments; they examined their conſtitutions, and found them incompatible with the laws. They then recollected all the ancient complaints which were made againſt this order, and upwards of fifty volumes of their theological deciſions affecting the ſafety of the lives of kings. The jeſuits defended themſelves only by ſaying, "That the Jacobins and St. Thomas had writ

"as

"as much." By this they had only diſcovered that the Jacobins were as reprehenſible as themſelves. With reſpect to Thomas d'Aquin, he is canonized; but in his ultramontaine ſummary there are deciſions that the parliaments of France would burn upon his feaſt-day, if they were made uſe of, to diſturb the peace of the kingdom. As he in many places declares, that the church has a right to depoſe a prince who is an infidel to it; ſo in this caſe he gives ſanction to parricide.—By ſuch maxims as theſe, one may gain paradiſe and the gallows!

The king condeſcended to intermeddle in the affair of the jeſuits, and endeavoured to paciſy this quarrel as he had done others. He was deſirous of reforming, in a parental manner, the French jeſuits; but it is ſaid, that Clement XIII. then pope, declared, that they muſt either continue as they were, or not exiſt at all, and this anſwer from the pope was their ruin. They were again reproached with carrying on ſecret aſſemblies. The king then abandoned them to his parliaments, who all, one after another, deprived them of their colleges and their eſtates.

The parliaments condemned them upon ſome rules only of their inſtitution, which the king might have altered;—horrible maxims it is true, but ſuch as were deſpiſed, and for the moſt

part publiſhed by foreign jeſuits, and lately formally diſavowed by the French jeſuits.

In all important affairs, there is an avowed pretext, and a concealed reaſon. The pretext for the puniſhment of the jeſuits, was the pretended dangers which might ariſe from their pernicious books, which nobody read; the true cauſe, was, the credit which they had ſo long abuſed. In this enlightened and moderate age, it happened to them as it befel the templars in a time of ignorance and barbariſm; pride ruined them both; but the jeſuits were treated in their diſgrace with mildneſs, and the templars with cruelty. At laſt, the king, by a ſolemn edict in 1764, totally aboliſhed this order, which always had perſons worthy of eſteem belonging to it, but more incendiaries, and which was, during the ſpace of two hundred years, a ſubject of diſcord.

It was neither Sanchez, Leſſius, nor Eſcobar, nor the abſurdities of caſuiſts, which ruined the jeſuits; it was le Tellier; it was the bull that was the reaſon of their extirpation throughout almoſt all France. The plough, that the jeſuit le Tellier paſſed over the ruins of Port-Royal, has produced, at the end of ſixty years, thoſe fruits which they now reap. The perſecutions that this violent and ſubtle man had excited againſt an obſtinate people, rendered

the

capital, and very rare. A ſuperior reaſon has extended itſelf in our days, from the foot of the Pyrenean hills to the north of France. Philoſophy, by rendering the mind more juſt, and baniſhing the abſurdities of far-fetched conceits, has made more than one province, the competitors of the capital.

In general, the bar has beſt underſtood that univerſal juriſprudence, drawn from nature, which raiſes itſelf above all the laws of convention, or of ſimple authority. Laws, often dictated by caprice, or through the force of money; dangerous reſources rather than uſeful laws, which are continually jarring, and rather forming a chaos than parts of a legiſlation.

The academies have been extremely ſerviceable, by accuſtoming young gentlemen to reading; and by exciting their genius to emulation, through premiums.

Pure natural philoſophy has illuſtrated the neceſſary arts; and theſe arts have already begun to heal the wounds of the ſtate, cauſed by two fatal wars. Stuffs are manufactured in a cheaper manner, by the ingenuity of one of the moſt celebrated mechanics *. An academician, ſtill more uſeful by the objects † that he has embraced, has brought agriculture to a much greater per-

* Mr. Vauchanſon † Mr. Duhamel.

fection;

fection; and a diſcerning miniſter has at laſt permitted the exportation of corn;—a neceſſary commerce forbid too long a time, and which ought to be limited as well as encouraged.

Another academician * has ſhewn the moſt advantageous means of furniſhing the inhabitants of Paris with water, which hitherto had failed them;—a project which can only be rejected either through poverty, negligence or avarice.

A phyſician † has at laſt found out the ſecret, ſo long time ſought for, of making ſea-water potable. He need do no more than to render his experiment ſo eaſy, that it may at all times be profited by, without too much expence.

If any invention can ſupply the want of knowledge of the longitude, which is refuſed us, it is that of the moſt ingenious watchmaker of France ‡, who diſputes this invention with England. But we muſt wait 'till time puts his ſeal to all theſe diſcoveries. There is not an invention but has its utility and inconveniencies; a diſcovery which can be diſputed, or an opinion which may be contended, as thoſe great monuments of the fine arts in poetry, eloquence, muſic, architecture, ſculpture and painting,

* Mr. Deparcieux. † Mr. Poiſſonnier. ‡ Mr. le Roi.

which

which at once engaged the approbation of the whole world, and injured that poſterity, by an éclat, which nothing can obſcure.

We have already ſpoken of the celebrated repoſitory of human knowledge, which has appeared under the title of the Dictionnaire Encyclopédique. It is an everlaſting honour to the nation, that the officers, both of ſea and land, ancient magiſtrates, phyſicians well ſkilled in nature, the truly learned, although nominal, doctors; men of letters, whoſe taſte has refined their knowledge; geometricians and phyſicians have all contributed to this work, as uſeful as it is difficult, without any view of intereſt, without even ſeeking after fame, ſince many of the authors keep their names a ſecret; in ſhort, without communicating their intelligencies to each other, and conſequently exempt from the ſpirit of party.

But what is yet more honourable for the country is, that in this immenſe collection, its beauties triumph over its imperfections, which has not before happened. The perſecutions that it has undergone are not altogether ſo honourable for France. The ſame unfortunate ſpirit of forms, mixed with pride, envy and ignorance, which occaſioned the ſuppreſſion of the art of printing in the time of Louis XI.

public ſpectacles in the reign of Henry IV. the beginnings of ſound philoſophy under Louis XIII. and even emetics and inoculation; this ſame ſpirit, I ſay, an enemy to all inſtruction, and to every thing that can advance our knowledge, gave almoſt mortal ſtrokes to this memorable undertaking. It has even been the means of rendering it not ſo good as it ſhould have been, in putting on thoſe ſhackles with which reaſon muſt never be confined, becauſe temerity, and not diſcreet boldneſs, ſhould be reproved, without which the human underſtanding can never make any progreſs. It is certain, that the knowledge of nature, and the diſbelief of the ancient fables honoured with the name of hiſtory, and ſound metaphyſics, freed from the impertinences of the ſchools, are the produce of this age, and human reaſon is greatly improved.

It is true, that all undertakings have not been equally fortunate. Voyages to the end of the world to confirm a truth that Newton has demonſtrated in his cloſet, have left doubts upon the exactneſs of meaſures. The experiment of rough iron, forged or converted into ſteel; that of breeding animals, in the Egyptian manner, in climates very different from Egypt, and many other efforts of the like nature

ture have been the means of loſing much precious time, and even ruined ſome families. Too hazardous ſyſtems have diſgraced thoſe works which would have been very uſeful. A reliance has been made on deceitful experiments, to revive the ancient error that animals could be produced without ſeed; from thence iſſued imaginations more chimerical than thoſe of the animals. Some have puſhed the miſtake of Newton's diſcovery upon attraction, even ſo far as to ſay that infants are formed in their mothers womb by attraction; others have invented the organical moleculæ, and have carried themſelves ſo far in their vain ideas, as to pretend that mountains have been formed by the ſea, there would be as much truth in ſaying, that the ſeas have been formed by mountains.

Who could believe that geometricians have been wild enough to imagine, that in the exaltation of the ſoul, we may poſſeſs the gift of divination; yet more than one philoſopher, as I have already remarked, took it into their heads, by the example of Deſcartes, to put themſelves in God's place, and create a world with their word; but now, all theſe philoſophical follies are reproved by the wiſe, and even theſe fantaſtical edifices, overthrown by reaſon, have left in their ruins, materials, of which reaſon has

has made ſome uſe. A like extravagance has infected the moral world: there have been ſeen underſtandings ſo blind as to undermine the very foundation of ſociety, at the time they thought to reform it. They have been mad enough to maintain, that the diſtinctions of *meum & tuum* are criminal, and that one ought not to enjoy the fruits of one's own labour; that not only all mankind are upon a level, but that they have perverted the order of nature, in forming ſocieties; that men are born to be ſeparated from each other like wild beaſts, and that amphibious animals, with bees and ants confound the eternal laws by living in common.

Theſe impertinences, worthy of an hoſpital of madmen, have been, for ſome time in faſhion, as it is cuſtomary to lead apes to dance in fairs.

Theology has not been ſcreened from theſe exceſſes. Works, whoſe nature is to be edifying, are become defamatory libels, and have even experienced the ſeverity of parliaments, and ought to be condemned by all academics for the vileneſs of their compoſition.

More than one ſuch abuſe ſeems to have infeſted literature. A crowd of writers have wandered into a laboured ſtile, either violent

and unintelligible, or a total neglect of all grammar;—abſurdity has been carried ſo far as to ridicule Tacitus. Much has been written in this age, but genius belonged to the laſt. The French language was carried, in the time of Louis XIV. to the higheſt point of perfection among all ranks; not in uſing terms either new or unuſeful, but in employing with art all the neceſſary words which were in uſe. It is at preſent to be feared, that this fine language will degenerate, in conſequence of that unfortunate facility in writing which the laſt age conſigned to poſterity; for models produced a crowd of imitators, and theſe imitators always endeavour to gain by verboſity, what they want in genius,—the language which they cannot embelliſh, they diſfigure. France was particularly diſtinguiſhed in the flouriſhing reign of Louis XIV. by the ſingular perfection to which Racine raiſed the theatre, and by the excellency of ſtyle, which he brought to ſuch a degree of elegance and purity, as had been before his time entirely unknown; notwithſtanding, after him, writings were applauded, as barbarous as they were ridiculous in their conſtruction.

It is againſt this decay that the French academy has been continually jaring; it preſerves good

good taſte from total ruin, by agreeing to beſtow rewards upon ſuch pieces only as are written, at leaſt with ſome degree of purity, and in reproving ſuch as offend in point of ſtyle. However, literature, altho' often corrupted, employs almoſt all the youth who are well brought up; it has even ſpread into thoſe claſſes of life which were ignorant of it. It is to this academy we are indebted for the baniſhment of groſs debaucheries, and the preſervation of the politeneſs introduced into this nation by Louis XIV. and his mother.

This literary knowledge, uſeful in all conditions of life, ſooths public calamities, by directing the mind to agreeable objects, which would otherwiſe be too much depreſſed by the contemplation of human miſeries.

SUPPLEMENT

To the Age of LOUIS XV.

Compriſing an account of the PUBLIC *and* PRIVATE *affairs of* FRANCE, *from the* Peace *of* VERSAILLES, 1763, *to the* death *of* that monarch, May 10, 1774.

[The celebrated author of the preceding ſheets, having brought down the hiſtory of the age of Louis XV. to the peace of Verſailles, (introducing, in the courſe of his narrative, only two memorable events of later date; the expulſion of the Jeſuits from France, and the execution of Lally) breaks off, without any promiſe to complete his plan at a future period; and though ſeveral years have elapſed, he has not thought proper to reſume the ſubject. However therefore, we may admire his hiſtory, ſo far as he has carried it on, yet we muſt confeſs

feſs that it is defective, while a ſeries of intereſting events remain to be recorded. Events, which have produced conſiderable alterations in the political and domeſtic affairs of France.

VOLTAIRE's ſilence may be attributed to delicacy, ariſing from a full conviction, that ſome anecdotes of the private life of his hero, in his latter years, have caſt a ſhade over the brighteſt part of his character. But every objection of this nature being removed by the death of the King, and the propriety of completing theſe memoirs, being ſelf-evident, the continuator, who wiſhes to make the Engliſh edition perfect, hopes for the favourable indulgence of the public, and he begs leave to obſerve, that though he may fall ſhort of his great original, in ſtile or manner, he will not yield the palm to him for hiſtorical truth and impartiality. Having ſaid this, he thinks all further apology unneceſſary, and will therefore proceed in his attempt, to delineate the remaining

ſcenes of this entertaining and inſtructive hiſtory, which could not be cloſed, with any propriety, ſhort of the natural period to which we are juſt arrived.]

IT is a fact, now too well known to be diſputed, that France was reduced to ſuch a deplorable ſituation, towards the cloſe of the year 1762, that it was no longer in the power of her allies to extricate her from the innumerable diſtreſſes that ſurrounded her, both at home and abroad. The moſt obvious cauſes, which compelled the French miniſtry to ſet on foot a ſecret negociation for peace, through the mediation of the king of Sardinia, are clearly ſtated by Mr. de Voltaire*; nor is it to be wondered at, that the ſkilful managers of that negociation were conſidered in France as the deliverers of their country, from the dreadful ſcourge of unſucceſsful war, and from the rapid advances of national bankruptcy and famine.

But ſome circumſtances, perhaps, not ſo well known, contributed as much, or more than any other events, to determine the Duke de Choiſeul, an able ſtateſman, to purchaſe an interval of repoſe to his bleeding country,

* Chap. 35, p. 165 and 166.

at

at the expence even of the moſt valuable ſacrifices.

A general diſlike to the ſervice, manifeſted itſelf in every department, civil and military, connected with the war. Officers and magiſtrates employed under the government, in its remote dependencies, oppreſſed and plundered the people, but paid no regard to the public ſecurity of the countries over which they preſided. A ſpirit of oppoſition to the meaſures of adminiſtration, chiefly owing to the misfortunes of the war, prevailed at home; and the difficulty of raiſing money for the public ſervice increaſed every hour. The moſt honourable offices were publicly refuſed, and no man of abilities could be found to undertake the conduct of the future operations of the war.

Add to this, the expiring influence of the Jeſuits, which was exerted with redoubled force, on the eve of its total extinction. Actuated by the infernal principles of revenge, they ſecretly thwarted the deſigns of an adverſe court, and ſtirred up the people to complain bitterly of the weight of the taxes, the extortions of the farmers general, and the univerſal mal-adminiſtration of public affairs.

In ſhort, ſcarcely was the peace ſigned, when, notwithſtanding the almoſt frantic joy it occaſioned throughout the kingdom, a moſt formidable oppoſition to the court broke forth, and even the officers of juſtice, under an immediate dependance on the crown, refuſed to regiſter the king's edicts, in the parliament of Paris, for continuing ſome taxes, (which ſhould have been aboliſhed at the expiration of the war) for impoſing new ones, and for veſting a power in the king to redeem the public debts at twenty years purchaſe.

The example of the parliament of Paris, was followed by almoſt all the parliaments of France, whoſe remonſtrances upon this occaſion, would do honour to the moſt diſtinguiſhed patriots, in the fineſt conſtitutions of civil government upon earth.

As the latent ſeeds of theſe internal commotions had undoubtedly haſtened the negociations for peace, ſo now their maturity ſerved to guarantee the powers of Europe, from any hoſtile deſigns of the court of France, for ſome years at leaſt; but they produced no effect in favour of the people, for the parliaments, after repeated ſtruggles in defence of their violated rights, in which they went ſo far as to proceed againſt their governors as

public

public criminals, were obliged to ſubmit at length, to thoſe irreſiſtible miniſters of deſpotiſm, the military.

However, this violent conteſt, by no means diverted the attention of the people from another object, which, though it was but a poor compenſation for the loſſes of individuals and of the public, during a long war, afforded general ſatisfaction to the whole kingdom; this was, the trial and puniſhment of ſeveral delinquents, whoſe perfidy, cowardice, or venality, had contributed to increaſe the misfortunes of the ſtate. In the month of December 1763, moſt of the public officers in the late government of Canada were condemned, ſome to a temporary, others to a perpetual baniſhment; and all were obliged to refund the immenſe ſums of which they had defrauded the nation, amounting in the whole to 12,965,000 livres. And, as this capital ſum had been chiefly purloined from the ſupplies for the army and marine forces employed in the defence of Canada, it was preſumed, that if it had been honeſtly expended in the public ſervice, the Engliſh would not have met with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs in that country; and, indeed, a review of the ſtations of the delinquents, in ſome meaſure

juſtifies this rational conjecture. The intendant of the province, the purveyor general of the army, the director, and the comptroller of the marine, the commiſſaries, and the keepers of the ſtores were the chief criminals. That theſe ſhould eſcape with life, is a ſtrong impeachment of the execution of juſtice in France; but it muſt be remembered, that Pompadour was ſtill living, and that they were all offieers appointed through her intereſt, and protected by her and her friends to the laſt.

From the produce of the fines, it was reaſonably expected, the French miniſtry would be enabled to pay the Canada bills, drawn by the late intendant, and the other guilty officers on the government of France, and given in payment to the Canadians, now become the ſubjects of Great Britain; yet, in violation of the ſolemn declaration of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at the peace, that the bills of exchange, drawn by the late government of Canada on old France, ſhould be honourably diſcharged, this piece of juſtice was refuſed, notwithſtanding the ſtrong application made by the Engliſh merchants trading to Canada, who were now the holders of theſe bills, having taken them in the courſe

courſe of their commercial concerns with that country, on the faith of the King's declaration. A long and feeble negociation on the part of the Britiſh miniſtry commenced, in conſequence of the remonſtrances of the proprietors of theſe bills, which might have produced a freſh rupture, had it not been for the very pacific diſpoſition of the Britiſh court.

But another incident plainly diſcovered, that the refuſal of the payment of the Canada bills was owing, at that time, to the exhauſted ſtate of the French finances. In the month of February, 1764, a declaration was made to their Eaſt India Company, on the part of the King, that his Majeſty could no longer afford them any aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding their great loſſes; and that they muſt either provide for the payment of their debts, or diſſolve the Company. This meaſure partly decided the fate of a commercial aſſociation, which, at one time, promiſed to rival thoſe of other countries, and to yield conſiderable ſuccours to the crown on extraordinary emergencies. It is true, this Company ſubſiſted after this declaration, but in the moſt fluctuating and enfeebled ſtate.

We are now brought, in the order of time, to a domeſtic event of another nature, from

which

which as great revolutions were expected in the internal government of France, as if a new monarch had aſcended the throne, the death of the King's favourite miſtreſs, and prime miniſter. It happened on the 15th of April, 1764, in the 43d year of her age.

It has often been the fate of France, to be governed, for a long ſeries of years, by the miſtreſſes of its Kings; the uncontroulable influence of Madame Pompadour laſted upwards of twenty years, during which time, various attempts were made to ruin her; and though perſons of the higheſt rank, and of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit in the kingdom, frequently engaged in well concerted plans, to remove her from court, they always ended in the diſgrace, and ſometimes in the puniſhment of the authors. One unhappy victim, *Madame Sauvé*, very early experienced the implacability of this imperious miſtreſs. On a public day of ſhewing the Duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin's eldeſt ſon, then an infant, to the people, occaſion was taken to conceal a packet, ſealed up, in the Prince's cradle; Madame Sauvé, who was in waiting, upon taking up the child, diſcovered this packet, and being either really overcome with fear, or affecting it, gave a violent ſcream, which

which brought Madame de Tallard inſtantly into the room, who, without loſs of time, carried the packet to the King. It contained an anonymous remonſtrance againſt the mal-adminiſtration of public affairs, and the King's neglect of the national welfare, wholly attributed to his criminal connection with Pompadour, and her aſſiduity to abſorb him in trifling, effeminate amuſements The irreſolute monarch, for a ſhort interval, appeared to be deeply ſtruck with remorſe; but after he had conſulted his female miniſter, (the object of the juſt invectives of his ſubjects) pride and reſentment ſtifled the reflections of wiſdom and virtue, and the incenſed miſtreſs, to deter others from the like dangerous attempts, procured an order to ſend *Sauvé* to the Baſtile, on a ſtrong preſumption, that ſhe had conveyed the packet into the cradle; what became of this unfortunate woman remains unknown to this hour. More intereſting tranſactions, prevent our entering further into the character of Madam Pompadour; and indeed it may ſuffice, to obſerve, that ſhe enjoyed all but the title of Queen Regent of France; for the eaſy, indolent Louis, ſeemed to be at the head of no other party in his kingdom, but that which formed his *petit ſoupers*,

ſoupers, calculated to engage him in a perpetual ſucceſſion of intoxicating pleaſures, formed by the luxuriant taſte of his miſtreſs, whoſe immediately dependants were the moſt conſtant gueſts.

As the King was far advanced in life, being in the *fifty-fourth* year of his age, when he loſt his beloved miſtreſs, it was reaſonably concluded, that the future glory of France would ſolely occupy his thoughts, and that the remainder of his life would be chiefly dedicated to public buſineſs. But this flattering proſpect ſoon vaniſhed, when it was found, that the King continued in his ſervice, and gave his confidence to, the minions and tools of that extraordinary woman. In this ſituation, we muſt leave the ſtate of the palace of Verſailles, while we attend to the other tranſactions of this year, worthy of notice.

The French miniſtry had, for ſome time paſt, formed a ſecret plan to get poſſeſſion of Corſica, under the open profeſſion of aſſiſting the Genoeſe government, incapable of itſelf, to defend thoſe parts of the iſland which it ſtill poſſeſſed. A more favourable opportunity could not preſent itſelf; the ſupporters of the liberties of Europe, and of the political balance of power, either exhauſted of men

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and money by the late war, or firmly reſolved not to involve themſelves in any freſh broils, when they had ſcarce recovered breath from the laſt; tamely beheld the military operations of France againſt Corſica, without tendering the leaſt ſuccour to the brave inhabitants, who, the inſtant they received intelligence of the deſigns of the court of France, called an aſſembly, compoſed of deputies from all the provinces of the iſland, and with a noble firmneſs, becoming a manly race of free-born citizens, reſolved that the French troops ſhould not be permitted to land on the iſland, on any pretence whatever. And that no decent meaſure on their part might be neglected, they ordered their commander in chief, *Paſcal Paoli*, to make the moſt reſpectful remonſtrances to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, againſt the unchriſtian conduct of his miniſtry, in ſending French troops to aid and aſſiſt the avowed enemies of their civil freedom and independency; the preſervation of which they had hitherto ſucceſsfully contended for, and were now on the eve of perpetuating, having nearly driven the Genoeſe off the iſland.

Neither theſe remonſtrances to Louis XV. celebrated by ſome writers for his humanity

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and love of juſtice, nor the memorials diſpatched to courts, ſuppoſed to be intereſted in the independency of Corſica, imploring, if not ſuccours, at leaſt their mediation with France, produced any effect. The French forces landed in Corſica, as auxiliaries to the Genoeſe; but they finally convinced the injured inhabitants, that they were deſtined to conquer, and to retain poſſeſſion of the country; accordingly we ſhall ſee Corſica annexed to the crown of France, by an act of ceſſion from the Genoeſe republic, in the year 1768; but the Genoeſe not having the leaſt ſhadow of right to conſign over theſe brave people, like a bale of merchandiſe; tho' the powers of Europe, from political motives, have hitherto acquieſced in this tyrannic invaſion of the rights of mankind, it is not to be doubted, that at ſome future period, Paſcal Paoli, or a more worthy hero, who will conſult leſs his own perſonal ſafety, will be empowered to reſtore the freedom of this enſlaved country.

We ſhall cloſe the annals of France for the year 1764, with the total extinction of the order of the Jeſuits. The edict for diſſolving this ſociety for ever, was regiſtered by the parliament of Paris, the beginning of December, but individuals were allowed to reſide in the

the kingdom, on condition of ſubjecting themſelves to the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the places of their abode. The final general annihilation of this celebrated order, ſince accompliſhed in all Roman Catholic countries, being in a great meaſure the reſult of the diſcoveries made in the criminal proceedings againſt the French Jeſuits; it was neceſſary to notice that event in this place, though it had been mentioned before by M. Voltaire.

The year 1765 was opened by a finance operation, which partly reſtored the credit of the court of France in England. The French ambaſſador at London, tendered the payment of 670,000l. as a compenſation for the maintainance of the French priſoners in different parts of the Britiſh empire during the courſe of the laſt war. By the advice of parliament, this ſum was accepted, and 130,000l. was immediately paid on account, the remainder was to be cleared by inſtalments of 40,000l. every three months; and ſome hopes being given, that the Canada bills would likewiſe be adjuſted amicably, the price of theſe bills, which had been ſold by auction at 30 per cent. diſcount, increaſed conſiderably. Soon after, the King gave a convincing proof of,

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the goodneſs of his heart; for the widow and children of the unfortunate Calas, having gained their cauſe in the Parliament of Paris againſt their inhuman bigotted perſecutors, exactly three years after the execution of their innocent father; his Majeſty not only ordered the re-eſtabliſhment of the reputation of that unhappy victim of ſuperſtitious fury to be printed and publiſhed in all parts of the kingdom, but he made the widow a preſent of 18000 livres, to her two daughters he gave 6000 livres each, and to one of her ſons 3000, without depriving them of their expectations of great damages from the Judges who firſt condemned their father. The writings of our author in behalf of the Calas family, it is ſaid, greatly contributed to this act of royal benevolence.

No alteration happened in the political ſtate of France at this period; but proper reſentment was ſhewn to the Emperor of Morocco, who had refuſed to puniſh a Sallee rover for ſeizing a French trading veſſel: a ſquadron of ten ſhips of the line, under the command of M. de Chaſſaut, bombarded Sallee from the 31ſt of May to the 14th of June, throwing into the old and new towns upwards of 400 ſhells, but with little effect.

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They afterwards attacked Larrache, but without ſucceſs; for they met with a warm reception from the Moors, who ſuffered the French to advance in their boats and to burn ſome veſſels without oppoſition, and then ſwam to them from the ſhore with ponſards in their mouths, and obliged them to beg for quarter. The Bacha gave orders to preſerve the lives of the priſoners, but took all the French boats, and would liſten to no terms of accommodation, ſo that M. du Chaſſaut found himſelf under a neceſſity to put an end to this expedition, without obtaining any ſatisfaction for the preſent.

A domeſtic event interrupted the uſual gaiety of the court of Verſailles, in the laſt month of this year, and involved the whole kingdom in a deep, univerſal ſorrow: the Dauphin of France, father of the preſent King, died at Fontainbleau, Dec. 20, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, leaving the character of an inoffenſive good-natured man, too much attached indeed to the prieſthood, and particularly to the Jeſuits, whoſe ſociety it is conjectured, he would have reſtored in France, if he had aſcended the throne ſoon after its diſſolution; but the moral tenor of his conduct

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gave the people room to hope, they ſhould be freed at leaſt from the capricious government of worthleſs women. The care he took of the education of his children, and particularly his endeavours to preſerve them from pride and arrogance, with which the minds of young Princes are but too early tainted, either by ſelf-intereſted courtiers, or by the example of Royal *hauteur*, does honour to his memory. It is related of him, that he made his children look over the baptiſmal regiſters in which their names are entered, by the cuſtom of France, indiſcriminately with others, and that he made the following remark to the Princes his ſons: "Behold your names intermixed without diſtinction with thoſe of the children of the poor and needy: religion and nature place all men upon a level; virtue alone can make any eſſential diſtinction between them, and perhaps the child, whoſe name precedes each of yours in this regiſter, will be greater in the ſight of God than you will ever be in the eyes of the people of France." At another time, he ordered them to be carried to the cottage of a poor peaſant; "I will have them ſee the black bread that they eat; I inſiſt on their handling the ſtraw which

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ſerves the poor for a bed. Learn them to weep," ſaid he to their governor, "a Prince who has never ſhed tears, cannot make a good King." When an augmentation of his appointments was offered him by the late King, he politely refuſed, and wiſhed that the ſum propoſed might be taken off annually from the taxes on the poor. It has been ſuggeſted, that he was too good to live; but as his public capacity for government was not ſo diſtinguiſhable as his private virtues, it cannot be imagined there was any political neceſſity to cut him off; though in countries where Machiavelian politics prevail, the life of a prince is more precarious than that of a peaſant.

It has been already obſerved, that the parliaments of France had been obliged to ſubmit to military force, but the time was now come not only to make them obey every arbitrary mandate of the court, but effectually to put a ſtop to all remonſtrances, or applications to the throne of any kind, to obtain the reſtoration of their rights and privileges. The parliament of Brittany having been actually diſſolved for their ſpirited meaſures, and a new commiſſion conſiſting of ſixty members appointed by the King having been veſted with the authority of that ſenate;

ſenate; the other parliaments preſented freſh remonſtrances to the King in more determined language, and the parliament of Paris were proceeding to ſtill bolder meaſures, when the King, apprehenſive of the conſequences, reſolved by one ſingle exertion of abſolute power to put an end to this internal commotion. Accordingly, to the great ſurprize of the Pariſians, his Majeſty, who ſcarcely ever viſited the capital but upon ſuch occaſions, ſuddenly arrived at Paris on the 3d of March, 1766, and repairing inſtantly to the grand chamber of the parliament, he there held what is idly termed his *lit de juſtice*; but inſtead of a bed of juſtice, it has proved the very reverſe, in the two laſt inſtances of its being held by Louis XV. The chambers being aſſembled, the King told them that he was come himſelf to anſwer all their remonſtrances in perſon; that he ſhould have remained ſilent, if the reunion of the parliaments, the indecency of their ſtyle, the temerity of their erroneous principles, and the affectation of new expreſſions to characteriſe them, had not clearly manifeſted the pernicious conſequences of that ſyſtem of union which he had already proſcribed: he added, "I will not ſuffer

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an aſſociation to be formed in my kingdom, which may grow up to a confederacy of reſiſtance." This proceeding however, did not deter a grand deputation of the parliament of Rouen from following him the next day to Verſailles with a remonſtrance, in which they hinted at the diſſolution of the compact between King and people, when the former violates his coronation oath. The King, without any conſultation with his miniſters, in the language of every deſpotic prince upon earth, replied, "The oath which I have taken, not to the nation, as you ſay, but to God alone binds me."—He then annulled all the arrets of this parliament, as he had done thoſe of the parliament of Paris at his *lit de juſtice*, paſſed by them in juſtification of the conduct of the parliaments of Pau and Brittany. We muſt not quit this ſubject without recording the laudable behaviour of the counſellors of the parliament of Brittany*, who, though ordered by the King to reſume their functions, poſitively refuſed to plead before the new commiſſioners,

* In France, every parliament has its ſpecial pleaders, who alone are privileged to plead cauſes before the reſpective parliaments to which they belong.

ſioners, upon which they were inrolled in the liſts of the militia, when ſome were draſted off by lot, to join battalions at a diſtance, and others were made part of the city guard.

General Lally's trial was the next object that engroſſed the attention of the parliament, and of the inhabitants of Paris; but ſo much has been written by M. Voltaire on this ſubject, that it remains for his continuator only to confirm the general opinion, that his ſentence and execution cannot give us the leaſt favourable opinion of the temper or wiſdom of his judges. A modeſt requeſt, from a general officer, to put off his trial for eight days, was refuſed; his ſentence was paſſed the day after his trial, May 6th, and he was executed the 9th, 1766. Every ſcene of this cataſtrophe manifeſted prejudice, precipitation, and a determination to ſhut the door againſt all applications for mercy. He was undoubtedly highly culpable, but not more ſo than the great officers in Canada, whoſe puniſhment we have ſeen, did not extend to life or member; but unfortunately, Lally had blaſted the ſanguine hopes of both the government and the people. Individuals expected to amaſs princely fortunes from their Eaſt India commerce and employments, in imitation of the Engliſh; and

and the government aimed at a ſuperiority of power over the Britiſh nation in the Eaſt Indies. Add to this, that Lally, in order to exculpate himſelf, had publiſhed ſome memorials, and was preparing others, which plainly diſcovered, that he was not the only ſtate criminal. This ſtep made even his judges tremble for the fate of their friends and relations. His death removed the principal evidence of their guilt, and the ſeiſure of his papers, ſecured them from all apprehenſions of ſharing his hard fate.

No other remarkable tranſaction happened this year, except the rejection of the mediation of Louis XV. in adjuſting the internal commotions of the republic of Geneva. Their refuſal to comply with the views of the French court, irritated the King to ſuch a degree, that he ordered his miniſter, the Chevalier de Beauteville, to talk to the commiſſaries of the people of Geneva, in the ſame ſtyle that he himſelf had uſed to his parliament at Paris. "The King, my maſter, prohibits you, as well as all the repreſenting citizens, all commercial intercourſe with his dominions; and if after this declaration, any of you ſhall preſume to come within the territories of France, you will be arreſted,

and your merchandiſe will be ſeized and detained at his Majeſty's pleaſure." This declaration was made by the French miniſter, on the 16th December, 1766. Every one knows, that the citizens of Geneva almoſt entirely depend on their trade with France. The ſale of watches, trinkets, and a variety of other articles in the mechanic branch to the French, forms their chief ſupport, and therefore an effectual method was taken to make them ſubmit to an intereſted mediation, calculated to anſwer the political views of France and her allies on the continent.

The year 1767 is quite barren of events with reſpect to France. The French miniſtry ſeemed wholly employed in the two arduous taſks, of improving the ſtate of agriculture, and of repleniſhing the treaſury. A perfect good underſtanding ſubſiſted between the courts of London and Verſailles, and a general communication of diſcoveries and advances in the arts and ſciences, began to eſtabliſh a friendly intercourſe between the *literati*, and men of genius in each country. Their academies and ſocieties opened a free correſpondence, from the continuance of which, it is to be hoped thoſe inveterate prejudices, which the nationals of each king-

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dom, as individuals, formerly kept up againſt each other, will in time totally ſubſide. And about this period, ſo many people of diſtinction from France viſited England, that the great complaint of our gentry ſpending their time and money in Paris, was juſtly ſilenced, by this new counterpoiſe to a balance of internal trade, before greatly againſt us.

The political talents of the Duke de Choiſeul, have been the ſubject of much ſpeculation in the great world, and his character has been variouſly repreſented, according to the views and intereſts of different parties in France and England.

The ſtrict line of juſtice ſhall be attempted in the ſhort ſketch, to which the limits of theſe memoirs confine the author. No miniſter ever ſhewed himſelf a truer diſciple of Machiavel; ambitious, arbitrary, enterpriſing, reſolute, and fully poſſeſſed of the ſpirit of intrigue. While he held the reins of government, he ſurmounted every difficulty, and triumphed over every obſtacle to the extenſive plans he had formed. The glory of the French nation, in its foreign concerns, was evidently his firſt object, but he purſued it on the ſame principles of deſpotiſm, which led him to acts of tyranny at home. The na-

tural rights of foreign petty ſtates, or of the ſubjects of France, were alike ſacrificed to the grand ſtate maxim of *political neceſſity*, however incompatible with the law of nature and of nations, or with thoſe legal and moral obligations which were inſtituted to unite Prince and people in one ſocial compact, for their mutual ſecurity and happineſs. His internal adminiſtration, therefore, ſo far as he was concerned in the arbitrary proceedings againſt the parliaments of France, generally attributed to him and the Chancellor Maupeau, will remain an indelible ſtain on his character in the eyes of all true patriots of every age and country. But in his foreign operations, (though he may ſtand condemned in England, where the ideas of honour, equity, and moral rectitude, are carried from the private cloſet to the council chamber, and it is expected they ſhould have the ſame influence on the conduct of ſovereigns in their public tranſactions, as they ought to have in the common concerns of individuals.) France muſt ever venerate him as an able ſtateſman; and though the monarch, whom he had faithfully and eminently ſerved, proved ungrateful to him, it is highly probable, that his ſucceſſor will not ſuffer ſo profound a politician

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to paſs his days in retirement. But nothing can be ſo abſurd, as the notion propagated in England, with what views we can be at no loſs to gueſs, that the removal of this miniſter prevented a war between France and England in the late reign; or that his reſtoration to power, under the preſent monarch, will involve us in that calamity.

Every meaſure taken by this miniſter, from the date of the famous family-compact, to the time of his diſmiſſion, demonſtrates, that he underſtood the true intereſts of his country; and that he meant to continue the peace, by ſtrengthening the alliances of France, and by adding to her weight and influence in Europe; and we ſhall make it appear, that the plan he purſued could not involve him, conſidering the well known ſituation of the other powers of Europe, in a war with any formidable enemy. In ſhort, to the inferior courts of Europe, he ſpoke *en maitre*, and accompliſhed his deſigns by force of arms; but to England, he held a different language, and as faſt as the exhauſted finances would permit him, ſettled amicably, the only ſubject of diſpute likely to occaſion a rupture, the liquidation of the Canada bills.

The political tranſactions of the year 1768, made this digreſſion neceſſary; perhaps the portrait of the miniſter may bear a ſtronger reſemblance, when we have reviewed the effects of his miniſterial manœuvres.

The policy of the cloſe union of the ſeveral branches of the houſe of Bourbon, began now to manifeſt itſelf upon more occaſions than one; and, it is no ſlender proof of Choiſeul's great abilities, that though the refuſal of the court of Madrid, to give any ſatisfactory account of the nature of this famous compact to the Britiſh ambaſſador, had cauſed a war between England and Spain, yet not the leaſt mention of this alliance, or of its dreaded conſequences, was made at the peace. It was ſuffered to paſs unexamined by our able negotiators, as if we had loſt our right to canvas every article, after a ſucceſsful war againſt Spain, undertaken with the avowed purpoſe of ſcrutiniſing the whole. The quarrel between the Duke of Parma and the Pope Clement XIII. independent of the family compact, was of ſo limited a nature, that it would have been decided without the intervention of other powers, if France had not ſtood engaged by the ſecret articles of this compact, to ſupport the pretenſions of the

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race of Bourbon in every part of Europe. The clergy, and the religious orders in all the territories belonging to the dutchy of Parma, had enjoyed ſuch excluſive privileges, and, in conſequence, had increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the revenues of the ſtate were conſiderably diminiſhed; for the eccleſiaſtics not only claimed an exemption from all taxes on their eſtates and effects, but alſo a power of aſſigning over this right to the purchaſers of lands held by them. This moſt extraordinary and unjuſt privilege, occaſioned fraudulent ſales and conveyances, by which the ſtate was greatly diſtreſſed, and was making ſuch a progreſs, that ſcarce any of the lands in the dutchy would be ſubject to taxation, if a ſtop was not put to ſuch proceedings. Reſpectful application had been made to the Pope, to exert his authority, and to act in concert with the government of Parma, in the meaſures that ſhould be taken to reform this abuſe; but the Pope gave no anſwer to the Duke's memorials upon this ſubject, upon which he exerted his ſovereign power to irradicate this evil; accordingly, he publiſhed an ordinance, which ſtruck directly at the root of the papal authority, and entirely put an end to it in the dutchy of Parma, for it cut off all communi-

cation between the eccleſiaſtics and the court of Rome, and deprived all foreign prieſts of their benefices. The Pope, on his part, had recourſe to the old exploded reſource of iſſuing out his bull againſt the Duke, threatening him with excommunication and interdiction, if he did not reſtore to the clergy their antient privileges; declaring alſo, that eccleſiaſtics are not ſubject to any temporal power. He went further, for he laid claim to the ſovereignty of the dutchy, though every pretenſion of this nature, had been long ſince given up by his predeceſſors.

Secure of the interpoſition of France, the the infant Duke paid ſo little regard to the Pope's bull, that he inſtantly took the moſt effectual method to prevent the miſchief it might have occaſioned. The Jeſuits were all ſeized in one night, and conducted to the confines of the Pope's dominions, where they were left to ſhift for themſelves. The other Italian courts, intereſted in the affairs of Parma, took fire on the publication of the Pope's bull; and ſcarce was it known at Naples, when the King of Sicily ſent a detachment of his troops to take poſſeſſion of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, places belonging to the Pope, but ſituated within the boundaries of the

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King's dominions. At Paris, this inſolent bull met with a ſolemn condemnation from the parliament in full aſſembly. It was declared to be illegal, and highly derogatory to the honour of all ſovereign powers; nor would it have found a place in theſe memoirs, if it had not been the laſt act of papal uſurpation of the ſupreme authority of Princes, on which the curtain is now dropt for ever.

The Pope, perſiſting in his refuſal to withdraw this bull, though ſtrongly ſolicited by the courts of France, Spain, and Vienna: All the Roman Catholic Princes of Europe took the alarm, and joined the common cauſe; even the Republic of Venice, for once, took part againſt the Holy See; and, it is generally believed, that the grief and vexation which this unexpected ſtroke occaſioned, haſtened the death of the holy father, who now ſaw himſelf beſet on every ſide, and his dominions invaded by different powers. It was too late to repent the inſult he had offered to one of the Princes of the houſe of Bourbon; nor was it before diſcovered, that if the rights of any one of the family ſhould be invaded, the whole aſſociation would appear in arms to reſent it. The

Pope was the firſt to experience the uniform operations of the compact. France revived a claim to Avignon and the Venaiſſin, as fiefs of that kingdom, and without waiting for a diſcuſſion of the title, took poſſeſſion in virtue of a commiſſion given by Louis XV. to the Marquis de Rochevart, at the head of the regiment of Dauphine, and to the preſident, and a deputation of the parliament of Paris, who jointly carried it into execution without loſs of time. On the 11th of June, the French dragoons appeared before the gates of the Pope's palace at Avignon, removed the old Swiſs guards, kicked open the gates with their jack-boots, and entered the palace in triumph, when the Marquis, in great ſtate, received the homage of the people, in the name of the King his maſter, and cauſed the arms of France, which he had brought with him, to be affixed over the city gates; after which, the preſident of the parliament, with his attendants, appointed proper perſons to adminiſter juſtice according to the laws of France. The towns of *Carpentras* and *Cavaillon*, in the Venaiſſin were given up to the French forces in the ſame peaceable manner, and the Pope's officers, civil and military, retired to Antibes,

tibes, from whence they embarked for Italy. On the other hand, the King of Sicily laid claim to the duchies of *Caſtro* and *Ronciglione*, which extend almoſt to the environs of Rome, and publicly threatened to ſend commiſſaries, in the ſpace of two months, ſupported by a ſufficient military force, to take poſſeſſion of theſe dutchies, which he conſidered as diſmembered parts of his ancient kingdom. He likewiſe adopted the ſame reformation in his dominions, which had incenſed the Pope againſt the Duke of Parma; the Jeſuits were expelled; and the King publiſhed an edict, informing his ſubjects, that the Pope ſhould be conſidered only as the firſt biſhop of the Catholic Church, and that his authority was leſs than that of a general council. Theſe doctrines could not have been hazarded while the Jeſuits remained in the country.

To complete the misfortunes of Clement XIII. the Duke of Modena laid claim to the dutchy of Ferrara, formerly the property of the houſe of Eſte, but long ſince ceded to the Popes, by treaties. In this extremity, the Pope, at laſt, began to ſue for peace, and ſolicited the court of Vienna, in the moſt humiliating manner, to interpoſe, and to uſe her

her intereſt to reconcile the offended houſe of Bourbon to the holy ſee.

While theſe revolutions were going on in favour of France and her allies in the heart of Italy, the finiſhing ſtroke was put to the independency of Corſica: the treaty concluded between the republic of Genoa and France was ratified in May; ſoon after which, the French court embarked twenty battalions of choice troops, together with the royal legion, for Corſica. Theſe forces landed in June, and being met at *Baſtia* by three deputies from Genoa, who had orders to deliver up the city, and all the other Genoeſe poſſeſſions in the iſland to the French commander, the French troops took poſſeſſion of Baſtia, hoiſted the French colours on the ramparts, took down the arms of the republic, and put up thoſe of France on the 24th: at the ſame time, the Count de Marbeuf, their general, ordered *Te Deum* to be ſung with the ſame ſolemnity as if he had gained a ſignal victory; the inhabitants were compelled to illuminate the city, and to give every outward demonſtration of joy on the very evening of their captivity. The detail of the ſkirmiſhes and pitched battles between the French army and the brave Corſicans, in defending their liberty to the laſt gaſp, engaged

engaged the attention of all Europe during the remainder of this year; nor was the whole iſland completely conquered till the ſummer of 1769, when it was finally made part of the dominions of Louis XV. and its eccleſiaſtical affairs ſubjected to the juriſdiction of the Gallican church.

Thus the power and influence of France, as the chief of the Houſe of Bourbon, was firmly eſtabliſhed in Italy, with the conſent of the Houſe of Auſtria, now cloſely allied with their ancient rivals and moſt inveterate enemies. The ſkilful negociations of the duke de Choiſeul may be ſaid to have accompliſhed in a time of peace, what Louis XIV. at the head of victorious armies, could never effect; the aggrandiſement of his own Houſe, on the ruin of others.

In the midſt of theſe enterpriſes, the wheels of the French government at home were clogged by freſh diſputes between the King and the parliament of Paris, but they were ſmothered for a few months by the national concern for the death of the Queen, whoſe moſt amiable diſpoſition, and pious reſignation to the will of Providence, had manifeſted itſelf in a moſt exemplary manner, under one of the moſt mortifying circumſtances in life, that of beholding her royal

conſort a conſtant dupe to his laſcivious deſires, and placing all his confidence in, as well as dedicating all his leiſure time to, an artful ambitious miſtreſs. Her Majeſty died on the 25th of June, after a lingering illneſs, univerſally regretted by all ranks of people throughout the kingdom of France. She was the only daughter of Staniſlaus the the depoſed King of Poland, who died about two years before her, in an extreme old age, of the hurt he received from ſetting fire to his night-gown, being negligently left alone by his attendants.

One circumſtance made this loſs ſtill more deeply felt. It had been obſerved, that the King ſtill permitted his ruling paſſion to get the better of his reaſon; but as he was now in the decline of life, decency prevented him from openly taking to his court any new miſtreſs while the queen lived; but ſhe was ſcarce buried, when the vile pandours of a voluptuous Prince put every ſtratagem in force to fix a patroneſs for themſelves in the palace of Verſailles, in which we ſhall find, to the diſgrace of their royal maſter, they ſucceeded, even beyond their warmeſt expectations.

In the beginning of the year, the King by an edict had granted ſome additional privileges

privileges to the grand Council of State, which affected thoſe of the Parliament and incroached on the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom; the parliaments of France as uſual, had united in an oppoſition to this meaſure, and had preſented to his Majeſty very ſtrong remonſtrances couched under the form of requeſts, praying him to limit the juriſdiction of the grand council within its former bounds; but theſe applications producing no effect, a full aſſembly of the parliament was held on the 4th of July, at which the Princes of the blood and the prime miniſter de Choiſeul aſſiſted, when it was debated and the queſtion put, that application ſhould be made to the King to aboliſh the grand council entirely, and this great point was loſt only by a majority of two negative votes. However, another reſolution was carried; to addreſs his Majeſty, deſiring him to fix, by clear and determinate laws, the line of diſtinction betwixt the privileges of the council and of the parliament, and to revoke the letters patent lately granted in favour of the former.

By this time, a general ſpirit of diſcontent prevailed on account of the immoderate price of proviſions; and though the ſcarcity of corn, owing to the inclement ſeaſons, had

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been felt in moſt parts of Europe for the laſt two years, yet the people of France, like the malecontents in England, failed not to attribute an event, which muſt occaſionally happen in the courſe of nature, to the miſconduct of the miniſtry, in ſuffering a free importation and exportation of corn. This ſubject occaſioned remonſtrances from all quarters, which ſerved only to expoſe the poverty of the kingdom, and the oppreſſed condition of the poorer ſubjects. Yet neither the King nor his reſolute miniſter ſhewed the leaſt diſpoſition to repeal the laws againſt the exportation of corn; at length, however, the parliament of Paris in their turn treſpaſſed on the prerogative of their abſolute monarch, and of their own authority prohibited the exportation of corn, till it ſhould be certified by the proper officers, that there was more than ſufficient for the conſumption of the people for one year. Nothing but the popularity of this act, and the fear of an inſurrection, could have made the King ſubmit to this bold ſtep; but though he ſtifled his reſentment for the preſent, it brought on the diſſolution and total overthrow of the parliament of Paris, which had been long meditated by the miniſtry.

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In the ſpring of the year 1769, the general diet of Sweden was convened by the intrigues of the French miniſter de Choiſeul, and before it broke up, a new treaty of ſubſidy with France was agreed to, on condition that the arrears of the old ſubſidies, which amounted to a very conſiderable ſum, were put in a courſe of payment by the French miniſtry.

Every ſum taken from the Treaſury of France at this time was highly diſtreſſing; for the reduction of Corſica had coſt near twenty millions of livres, and the internal ſtate of the kingdom plainly ſhewed that the people could bear no further impoſts, for bankruptcies in trade of the moſt alarming nature happened every day, and amongſt the number of private failures were reckoned ſome very conſiderable bankers, beſides a variety of perſons who ſtood connected with government, and had been ruined by advancing money in its ſervice on ſecurities which depended on the good faith of its adminiſtration, but which were now invalidated by one of thoſe arbitrary acts of power, frequent in this country, but unjuſtifiable in any, the reduction of the intereſt of the public funds. This was another inſtance of the reſolute ſpirit of the miniſter, and of

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the complection of his political principles. He knew that something must be done to ballance the large demands on the finances for Corsica, and to continue Sweden and other subsidiary states firm in the French interest; and he remembered, that France had cancelled all her debts by a notorious breach of faith in the time of Louis XIV. and yet that her credit revived, and she was able, after such an act of cruel fraud, to borrow money for the service of Louis XV. in the early part of his reign, nearly on as good terms as the ministry of England, where the national honour, secured by the sanction of parliament, had never been violated. He therefore boldly ventured to reduce the interest on the public funds one half, and took away the benefit of survivorship from the Tontines; a darling object with the French, who, by out-living their friends and acquaintance, often became possessed of considerable life-annuities; and we may venture to affirm, that this measure has done incredible mischief to the finances of France; for the Tontines were always a sure, easy, expeditious resource for raising money in time of war. This event took place in the course of this year, and together with the bankruptcy of the East-India company, and the

the ſtagnation of private credit in all the great commercial cities of France, threw the nation into a general ferment, and raiſed ſuch a clamour againſt de Choiſeul, that even the Baſtile could not ſilence. His power now began to decline, and fearing that with the confidence of the people he ſhould loſe that of his royal maſter, he ſhifted the ſcenes, and endeavoured to regain the former by a very popular meaſure. On a ſudden he became the zealous friend of the parliaments of France, and made it apparent, that the influence of a miniſter over a weak King is capable of producing a deſirable effect in one day, which volumes of remonſtrances from his loving ſubjects could not accompliſh in a courſe of years, perhaps in a whole reign.

In the month of July the King reſtored the old parliament of Brittany, and recalled the exiled members who had given him ſo much trouble. In ſhort, Choiſeul having ſucceeded in his great defenſive plan of political operations, calculated to cover the internal weakneſs of the nation by ſtrong alliances, and having by military exertions over powers on the continent, who were not able to oppoſe him, exhibited an appearance of remaining ſtrength, which might deter any

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of the principal powers of Europe from breaking with France upon any ſlight miſunderſtanding, ſaw himſelf now under a neceſſity to take part againſt his own court, to whoſe intrigues he was on the point of being ſacrificed. The growing credit of his rival the duke d'Aiguillon, ſoon required his whole attention, and he quickly found out an expedient to rid himſelf of this dangerous favourite, which muſt have ſucceeded effectually, if he had not been ſecretly undermined by female faſcination, which continued as uſual, to work miraculous changes in the conduct of Louis XV. A new miſtreſs had been introduced to the King by the creatures of the duke d'Aiguillon, who not only ſcreened this nobleman from the juſt reſentment of his injured countrymen, but in the end, ſo completely triumphed over every principle of ſound policy, decency and decorum, that this very man, the object of univerſal deteſtation, was made prime miniſter in the room of the duke de Choiſeul. But the ſtruggle was great, and laſted a conſiderable time; the diſmiſſion of Choiſeul was not ſo eaſily effected as that of the great Maurepas, who, after thirty years of conſtant application to the King's buſineſs, was baniſhed inſtantly by la Pompadour's intereſt,

only

only for a few jocular reflections on that lady's aſcendency at court. This virtuous miniſter we ſhall have occaſion to mention again at the cloſe of theſe memoirs.

In the mean time, it will be proper to notice the remaining acts of miniſterial policy, conducted by the duke de Choiſeul, in the midſt of this growing oppoſition to his perſon and his meaſures.

The death of the Pope, which happened the beginning of this year, left the Princes of the houſe of Bourbon maſters in a great degree of the fate of his ſucceſſor, and pointed out to him the danger of quarrelling with them. Accordingly we ſhall find the new Pope, Clement XIV. diſpoſed to put an end to the troubles which his predeceſſor had occaſioned in Italy, by his obſtinate perſeverance in defence of exploded eccleſiaſtical privileges: though at his acceſſion he appeared determined not to comply with the requeſts of the miniſters of France, Spain, Portugal and Sicily, who jointly required the total ſuppreſſion of the whole order of Jeſuits.

Two remarkable anecdotes of the preſent Pope ought to be recorded in every piece which treats of the tranſactions of this period. He ſuppreſſed the ridiculous and humiliating

miliating cuſtom of kiſſing the toe, or rather the ſlipper of every new Pontiff on his election; a ceremony, which, by abuſe, had been extended to future occaſions, and had been practiſed upon every viſit made to the ſovereign Pontiffs by devots.

The grand Inquiſitor General having made him a moſt adulatory ſpeech, congratulating himſelf, and all the Roman Catholic powers, on the judicious choice the Conclave had made; his Holineſs made a very polite anſwer, but concluded with obſerving, "That the Redeemer of mankind was almoſt ſtunned, at his entrance into Jeruſalem, with the acclamations of the very people, who, not long after, loaded him with reproaches, and perſecuted him unto death."

But the election of Clement XIV. was attended with another ſingular circumſtance, which added luſtre to the ſolemnity. The Emperor of Germany, then on his travels, accompanied by his brother, the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, happened to be at Rome while the Conclave was ſitting, and ſtaid there till the election was over, but did not appear in his Imperial character; however, he received diſpatches from France about this time, and it appears, that the active ge-

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nius of the Duke de Choiſeul was then at work in rivetting the laſt link of that political chain, which was to ſecure and render permament, the force of the family compact, by a freſh union with the houſe of Auſtria. A negociation was carrying on for marrying the Dauphin to the Archdutcheſs Maria Antonietta, the Emperor's youngeſt ſiſter; and as his Majeſty's concurrence, to ſome ſecret articles in the treaty, reſpecting the Low Countries, was indiſpenſably neceſſary, advantage was taken of his travelling into Italy, to bring this buſineſs to a concluſion, which had been already approved of by the Dowager Empreſs at Vienna.

Having thus put the affairs of France on the continent, upon the beſt footing, the Duke de Choiſeul was at leiſure, the beginning of the year 1770, to ſupport the proſecution then commenced by the reſtored parliament of Brittany, againſt his avowed enemy, the Duke D'Aiguillon, their former governor. This nobleman had been the occaſion of all the hardſhips the members had ſuffered, and had carried on a criminal proceſs for four years againſt M. de Chalotais, their attorney general, whoſe life would have been ſacrificed to his reſentment, if the Duke de Choiſeul

Choiſeul had not prevailed with the King, to diſpatch an expreſs order to ſtay the execution of this venerable old man, on the point of being conducted to the ſcaffold at Morlaix. The whole kingdom ſeemed intereſted in the puniſhment of this tyrannical governor, whoſe cruelties and oppreſſions in the province were well known; but hitherto it had been reckoned dangerous, even to attempt to bring him to a trial. Encouraged, however, by the countenance of the miniſter, and the general hatred of the people, the parliament of Brittany now ſucceeded, and his trial began at Verſailles, in the preſence of the King, in the month of April. The Princes of the blood, and the Peers of France, with the reſt of the members of the Parliament of Paris, were his judges. In the courſe of the evidence it appeared, that M. de Chatelois, animated by the true ſpirit of patriotiſm, had vigorouſly exerted himſelf in oppoſing the mal-adminiſtration of the Duke, who, in revenge, had not only procured the diſſolution of the parliament of Brittany, by means of exaggerated miſrepreſentations of their conduct to the King, but had employed perſons to take off this venerable magiſtrate, now upwards of 70 years of age by poiſon.

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failing in this baſe attempt, it was proved, that he had erected a mock tribunal in the caſtle of Morlaix, and ſuborned evidences to accuſe him of treaſon. In fine, that a moſt arbitrary, cruel, and unjuſt ſentence of death had been pronounced againſt him, which would have been privately executed upon the good old man, if timely notice had not been given to the Duke de Choiſeul of this horrid tranſaction.

The whole court was ſo clearly convinced of the Duke's guilt, that nothing remained but to make an example of the noble culprit, when the King, of a ſudden, ſtepped in to reſcue him from the hands of juſtice, and put a ſtop to all further enquiries into his conduct; obliging letters patent to be regiſtered for that purpoſe, in the preſence of all the Princes and Peers, who were thunder-ſtruck at this manifeſt violation of the laws. The Duke of Orleans, firſt Prince of the blood, ſenſibly affected, expoſtulated with the Chancellor upon this unprecedented ſtep; but the King, apprehenſive of the conſequences, if the parliament ſhould meet, and ſummon the Princes and Peers upon this ſubject, took the precaution, peremptorily to forbid their attendance. He began with the

Duke of Orleans, and ordered him to communicate this prohibition to the other Princes of the blood, but he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, it would better become his Majeſty to deliver ſuch unwelcome commands. Soon after, to complete this act of deſpotiſm, the King took the Duke de Aiguillon with him on a party of pleaſure to Marli. The public deteſtation of the protected favourite now became univerſal, and all the parliaments of the kingdom loudly reſented the inſult offered to the Princes of the blood, to the Peers, and to the Parliament of Paris; the latter aſſembled, and publiſhed an arret, depriving the Duke of his ſeat in parliament, and of all the privileges of the peerage, till he ſubmitted to a trial in obedience to the laws. The King in council, cancelled this arret, and commanded the Duke to reſume his functions and his place in parliament. This was conſidered as a tyrannical act of power, which ſtruck at the root of all the rights of the peerage, and of the parliament. The whole ſummer was ſpent in fruitleſs attempts to induce the King to withdraw his letters patent, and to permit the trial to go on. The parliaments of Bourdeaux and Toulouſe divested the dutchy of Aiguillon of all the privileges

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of peerage, reducing it to the condition of a private eſtate, till the Duke ſhould be acquitted by his Peers of the high crimes laid to his charge. The parliament of Brittany never ceaſed imploring the King for juſtice; and they entertained ſome hopes of ſucceſs, when they were allowed to ſend a deputation to court to know the King's pleaſure; but this was only the prelude to an act of unexampled brutality: the deputies were admitted to audience only to be reprimanded in the ſevereſt terms, and to behold two of their members ſeized by the officers in waiting, and ordered to priſon as an example to the reſt, for having preſumed to remonſtrate againſt the King's letters patent, which, he ſaid, ſhould have been implicitly obeyed, without reply. This open violation of the right of humanity itſelf, which gives to every man authority to expoſtulate with his ſuperior, provided decent reſpect is obſerved in the addreſs, alarmed, but could not terrify the parliament of Paris, which continued ſitting at the uſual ſeaſon of vacation, and ſent deputation upon deputation to the King, from whom they could obtain no anſwer, for he would neither ſee nor hear his parliament. And, in order to put a ſtop to all further

plications on this diſagreeable ſubject, he once more had recourſe to a *lit de* juſtice, which ſeems to have been the *ultima ratio* of Louis the XV. as the mouth of the cannon was of Louis XIV. On the 3d of September, his Majeſty unexpectedly arrived at Paris, attended by an extraordinary corps of guards, who immediately ſurrounded the parliament houſe; the King entered ſoon after, and having ſeverely reproached the members, in the bittereſt terms, he ordered the two chambers of inqueſts and requeſts to withdraw, and then calling for all the papers relative to the proceedings againſt the Duke D'Aiguillon, they were delivered up to him: theſe he carried away, and all the decrees paſſed in parliament againſt the Duke, he made the Chancellor eraſe from their regiſters. This officer likewiſe informed them, that the King now impoſed an abſolute ſilence upon them; that he forbad all correſpondence between them, and his other parliaments, and if diſobeyed, he ſhould conſider it as a confederacy againſt his perſon and authority; and the preſidents of the parliament were enjoined, under pain of the royal diſpleaſure, to break up all aſſemblies wherein any propoſitions ſhould be ſtated, tending

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to revive debates upon ſubjects concerning which he had commanded ſilence.

It is an undoubted truth, that from this day, Louis XV. loſt the title of *bien aimé*; he was no longer the *well beloved*, for ſilent and ſecret deteſtation poſſeſſed the hearts of his ſubjects, and gloomy deſpair lowered on their countenances. Afraid to ſpeak their ſentiments on the dreadful aſpect of affairs, a ſolemn ſtillneſs reigned throughout Paris for ſome days; the places of public amuſement were deſerted, and a ſudden check put to the natural vivacity of the French. *Lettres de cachet* and the Baſtile were continually before their eyes, while ſuſpicion and diſmay made every man a ſtranger, almoſt to his boſom friend. Military detachments were ſent to compel the other parliaments to regiſter the King's letters patent, in favour of the Duke D'Aiguillon, and great outrages were committed in the execution of theſe mandates. Nothing remained to be done on the part of the oppreſſed parliaments, but to publiſh proteſts againſt this ſubverſion of the conſtitution. The parliament of Paris ſet the example, and declared, that the proceedings of the court plainly manifeſted a deep laid ſcheme to change the form of govern-

ment;· This prediction we ſhall find verified in the courſe of the enſuing year.

We muſt now bring forward upon the ſcene of action the miſtreſs, who, under the direction of the duke d'Aiguillon and the Chancellor Maupau, ſecretly regulated all the motions of the infatuated Monarch, and whom we may not improperly ſtyle, the curſe of France.

Much has been printed in England and other countries concerning this ſhameleſs woman, but with little truth or preciſion: fortunately for the ſatisfaction of the public, the writer of theſe memoirs, while he holds an Engliſh pen, ſuffers it to be guided in this inſtance by a French gentleman of diſtinction, who, though unwilling to expoſe the weakneſs of his late Sovereign, has ſuffered the love of juſtice to prevail, and has communicated the only anecdotes concerning Madame Barré which can be properly authenticated, or which merit our attention, as they make a part of the political hiſtory of France.

In one of our printed accounts of this favourite, it is ſaid, ſhe was the daughter of M. de Chivaux, a Silverſmith at Paris, and that ſhe acquired the name of Barré by

a ſecret marriage, contrived to deceive the King with reſpect to her origin. Another, makes her a deſcendant of an ancient noble family in Ireland, ſome of whom fled to France during the troubles in that kingdom; but theſe are fictions, forged probably at Paris, and from thence tranſmitted to the Engliſh preſs. For certain it is, that a thouſand idle reports were circulated by her creatures, as ſoon as ſhe was eſtabliſhed at Verſailles, in the vain hope of ennobling her contaminated blood, it has even been aſſerted, that a reſpectable Iriſh Peer now living is her firſt couſin. But,

" What can ennoble ſlaves, or wh---s,
" or cowards?
" Alas! not all the blood of all the
" Howards *!"

The truth is, that her deſcent and even her birth is too obſcure to be traced with any certainty; but it is notorious, that from the earlieſt age of womanhood, which is attained very young in France, ſhe was known at

* Liberty has been taken to alter a word for the preſent purpoſe, in theſe excellent lines of Mr. Pope.

Paris under the denomination of *une fille de joie, a woman of pleaſure*; and it may be imagined, rather in an humble walk, from the following anecdote. Soon after her advancement at court, the Duke d'Enguin was aſked if he knew her—oui dit il, *je l'ai connue à un ecu, à preſent elle eſt à un Louis—I have known her at a crown, ſhe is now at a Louis.*

In the prime of her youth ſhe was reckoned extremely beautiful, but at the period when ſhe was pitched upon to faſcinate the voluptuous Monarch of France, the charms of her perſon had ſuffered greatly by the depredations of time, and the courſe of life to which ſhe had been accuſtomed, from fourteen to thirty years of age. The lilies and roſes implanted by nature on her lovely features, had faded long ſince, under the breath of pollution, and art now ſupplied the defect, from the repoſitories of the perfumer. The remaining luſtre of a fine eye, joined to exact ſymmetry of ſhape, and an inexpreſſibly engaging air and addreſs, were however, ſufficient external graces to engage the King's attention at the firſt interview, placed as ſhe purpoſely was in a ſituation where ſhe could not fail of attracting his notice, and thoroughly inſtructed in the part

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ſhe was to act if his Majeſty accoſted her. It was cuſtomary with the King, in his hunting parties, to ſeparate from the court, and attended by only one or two noblemen to ride about his parks, to view the company aſſembled upon theſe occaſions. Madame Barré took her ſtation in a private receſs where there was little danger of interruption, and the Duke d'Aiguillon, who had concerted the whole ſcheme, conducted the King to the ſpot: the interview produced an aſſignation, and at a private *petit ſouper* the conqueſt was completed, by the vivacity of her converſation, the apparent amiableneſs of her temper, and an elegancy of taſte which the King diſcovered in her, from which he promiſed himſelf a revival of that variety of enchanting amuſements, contrived by his former miſtreſs la Pompadour, to baniſh the melancholy horrors to which he was frequently ſubject.

A treaty was ſoon ſet on foot, which ended in her eſtabliſhment at Verſailles on her own terms; one of them was a title, and the King granted it, notwithſtanding the ſtrong repreſentations of de Choiſeul againſt this imprudent ſtep. Having gained this point, the Counteſs de Barré kept no bounds,

but with unexampled arrogance, expected to be viſited by the Dauphin and Dauphineſs; the Dauphin, after ſome warm altercations with the King, was obliged to ſubmit; but the Dauphineſs, with a noble greatneſs of ſoul, addreſſed the King upon this occaſion nearly in the following terms: "Sire, if I had been born your ſubject, I "muſt have obeyed, but as the daughter "and the ſiſter of an Emperor, your Ma-"jeſty will excuſe me." The ladies of the court however, could not obtain any indulgence; they were obliged to ſhew every mark of reſpect to the new favourite, and one example of reſiſtance frightened them into conſtrained compliance. The Dutcheſs de Grammont, firſt lady of honour to the late Queen, being in a box at the opera, the Counteſs de Barré came in, and attempted to place herſelf by the Dutcheſs, upon which, conſulting her own dignity, and her veneration for the memory of her late royal miſtreſs, now openly inſulted in the eyes of the ſpectators, ſhe deſired the Counteſs to retire, and on her refuſal, the Dutcheſs politely curteſying to the people, who expreſſed univerſal applauſe, left the box, and went into another: for this offence, ſhe received

a *lettre*

[illegible]

B *lettre* [illegible]
feat [illegible]
the King's [illegible]

But [illegible]
heat, [illegible]
promotion [illegible]
known [illegible]
her [illegible]
to [illegible]
power [illegible]
own [illegible]
this [illegible]
[illegible] ly
it [illegible] ve
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[illegible] off
[illegible] ner;
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[illegible] they
[illegible] rowd-
[illegible] being
[illegible] ations
[illegible] nt, and
[illegible] heads of
[illegible] d it, gave
[illegible] retreat had
[illegible] of the three
streets

not without being made known to the Counteſs, who now entered more deeply than ever into the politics of the times, with a determined reſolution to remove the two de Choiſeuls: and in this ſhe ſucceeded, to the great diſhonour of the King, and to the regret of all the true friends of France; but as this event did not take place till 1771, it is proper to return to the remaining occurrences of the year 1770.

Another effort was made in the courſe of this year to revive the declining credit of the French funds: a council of ſtate was held, and the Duke de Choiſeul, as prime miniſter, was authoriſed to order the King's miniſters at foreign courts to declare, that their maſter would make good all contracts of a pecuniary nature he had entered into with foreigners, and that funds would be depoſited, for that purpoſe, in the hands of troller-general of the finances.

On the 19th of May, the nuptials of the preſent King and Queen were ſolemnized at the royal chapel of Verſailles, and during the rejoicings upon this happy and important event, all animoſities and internal troubles ſeemed to have been totally forgotten, ſuch was the general ſatisfaction expreſſed by

by all ranks of people, on account of this union of the ancient rival houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria; but a dreadful cataſtrophe moſt unexpectedly put an end to the gaiety and good-humour which had reigned in Paris, from the time of the arrival of the Dauphineſs in France.

The greateſt preparations had been made for exhibiting ſuperb fireworks in the ſquare of Louis XV. in honour of this marriage, under the direction of a very able engineer; but a very great overſight had been committed, for the place was not ſufficiently ſpacious for the execution of the extenſive deſign. This had been mentioned to the engineer, but it was too late to rectify the fatal error: the exhibition had been put off ſeveral times on account of the weather; the people grew impatient at the delay, and therefore on the 31ſt in the evening they were diſplayed; but the populace had crowded ſo cloſe to the building, inſtead of being kept at a proper diſtance, that the operations of ſome of the machines were too potent, and threw down ſhowers of fire on the heads of the populace, who, unable to ſtand it, gave way, and making a precipitate retreat had the misfortune to find two, out of the three

ſtreets

ſtreets leading from the ſquare, blocked up: the other, being a narrow one, was almoſt inſtantly filled by the retiring crowd, and by others, who came into it in their way to the fireworks, not knowing what happened: the horror of the ſcene by theſe means was completed; the people unable to paſs, threw each other down, and thus great numbers periſhed by ſuffocation, and many who lay undermoſt ſtabbed thoſe who were upon them, in order to diſengage themſelves. A large ſcaffold likewiſe broke down, and threw a prodigious number of ſpectators into the Seine. Upon the whole, it was computed that the killed and maimed amounted to 3000 perſons. But this fatal evening marked the diſtinguiſhed humanity of the royal pair, whoſe exceſs of grief can hardly be deſcribed, and whoſe unwearied exertions of liberality and attention to the ſurviving ſufferers cannot be ſufficiently extolled.

Towards the end of this year, the ſcarcity of proviſions became ſo general in all parts of France, notwithſtanding the great improvements made in agriculture, that no leſs than 4000 perſons periſhed in the Limoſin and the Marche; emigrations took place from different quarters of the kingdom; univerſal diſcontent

diſcontent prevailed, and inſurrections enſued, till the ports were opened, and liberty given to foreigners, as well as natives, to import corn.

With reſpect to the external affairs of France, we have only to obſerve, that the oppreſſed Corſicans ſtill continued to harraſs the French forces, and ſeemed but little diſpoſed to acquieſce in the French government. But, in order to convince the world, that the court of France conſidered Corſica as a member of its kingdom, a ſquadron was diſpatched to Tunis, to demand ſatisfaction of the Bey, for having taken ſeveral Corſican veſſels under French colours. After ſome miſchief done, by bombarding the port of Biſuta, this affair was compromiſed by a ſum of money paid to the French, and a new treaty, by which the ſovereignty of France in the iſland was recogniſed, and the coral fiſhery on the coaſt of Africa, which had been permitted to the Corſicans while they were a free people, was placed upon its ancient footing.

But a very ſingular event, which engaged the attention of all Europe, (as it threatened a new war between its three principal powers) at this time, greatly embarraſſed the French miniſter, and his conduct upon the occa-

occaſion, was made the oſtenſible cauſe of his diſmiſſion. Intelligence arrived in England, on the 24th of September, by the Favourite ſloop of war, that the Spaniards had forcibly taken poſſeſſion of his Britannic Majeſty's ſettlement at Fort Egmont, in Falklands Iſland; had made the garriſon priſoners of war, and diſgraced the Britiſh flag, by unhanging the rudder of a King's ſhip. Such a flagrant violation of the treaty of peace, at a time when the moſt cordial amity ſeemed to ſubſiſt between the courts of Madrid, Verſailles, and London, could not well be accounted for upon any other ſuppoſition, but that of ſome ſecret engagements entered into in conſequence of the family compact, by which a war was to be commenced by ſurpriſe againſt Great Britain While the neceſſary preparations were making in England, to repel force by force, in caſe a negociation for ſatisfaction ſhould prove unſucceſsful, it is confidently aſſerted, that the court of Spain actually intended to break with England, if France had been ready to ſecond her; and that the Spaniſh miniſtry applied to the court of Verſailles to know her intentions, to which de Choiſeul returned for anſwer, "without the King's knowledge."

ledge." "That the King, his maſter, would be always ready to ſupport the honour of the houſe of Bourbon, and to fulfil the ſolemn engagements he had entered into by the family compact." A diſpatch to this purport, which had been forwarded to the French ambaſſador at Madrid, was copied by a ſecretary, in the intereſt of the Duke D'Aiguillon and the Chancellor, tranſmitted home; and by the latter, put into the hands of the Counteſs de Barré, with inſtructions to ſhew it to the King in one of his gloomy hours, and to paint to him in the ſtrongeſt colours, all the horrors of a war, to be commenced at a time when the finances were in great diſorder, the whole kingdom in a ferment concerning the parliaments, and the poor almoſt famiſhed for want of bread. At the ſame time, the Duke D'Aiguillon circulated a general rumour without doors, that de Choiſeul was going to involve the nation in a war with England, on account of a miſerable iſland in South America. The people caught the alarm, and, to teſtify their inclination to peace, the general cry at Paris was, *point de guerre! point de Choiſeul!* no war! no Choiſeul! The diſmiſſion of the miniſter was ſoon after reſolved upon by the King,

and

and took place the beginning of January, 1771.

His Majeſty, in the lettre de cachet, (which ordered him to reſign his employments, and to retire to his ſeat at Chanteloux) expreſſed in ſtrong terms, his diſapprobation of his conduct latterly; but he was ſcarce gone into exile, when the eyes of all Paris were opened, and it was now plainly diſcovered, that he was ſacrificed to the reſentment of the Counteſs; to the ambition of the Duke D'Aiguillon, and to the deep laid ſcheme of the Chancellor, to ſubvert the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom. It was publicly known likewiſe, that the diſpatch which had raiſed ſuch a clamour againſt him, contained inſtructions to the French ambaſſador, to diſſuade the court of Madrid from breaking with England; though it was added, that France was bound in honour to ſupport the intereſts of every branch of the houſe of Bourbon; but the former part of the letter was artfully ſuppreſſed.

The diſmiſſion of de Choiſeul, was followed by a revival of the moſt arbitrary proceedings againſt the parliament of Paris, who continued their deputations, and deſired the King, either to withdraw his edict, and permit

mit the law to take its courſe with the Duke D'Aiguillon, or to accept their employments and their lives, which they were willing to ſacrifice to the preſervation of the conſtitution. The firſt preſident boldly told the King, that his edict, being contrary to law, was in itſelf null and void, and therefore could not be regiſtered. "Your edict, Sire, is deſtructive of all law; your parliament is appointed to maintain the law, and that periſhing, they ſhould periſh with it," were the laſt words of this officer upon the occaſion; after which the preſidents, counſellors, and other officers of the parliament, reſigned their ſeveral functions. Letters of juſſion were iſſued by the King, commanding them to reſume their employments; this they abſolutely refuſed, and, on the 19th of January, in the middle of the night, detachments of muſqueteers went to the houſes of moſt of the members, and preſented to each, a circular lettre de cachet, which ordered them to reſume their uſual duty, and to ſignify their compliance by ſigning their aſſent, or their refuſal by ſigning a negative; or, in other words, their own baniſhment. The major part ſigned the refuſal; ſome others would not explain their ſentiments out of parliament

ment, and a few, under the influence of fear, ſigned an aſſent, which they afterwards retracted. But owing to ſome miſtake, many of the members were not ſerved with the lettres de cachet; theſe went in proceſſion to the parliament-houſe, attended by their preſident; and entered a proteſt againſt this military attack upon their brethren; and in going to, and coming from the houſe, the people, as they paſſed, expreſſed their approbation of their patriotic conduct, by continual acclamations. All the members were now baniſhed to different villages, ſome near, and others at a great diſtance from Paris. That the public virtue of this parliament may be viewed in the moſt meritorious light, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the members purchaſe their ſeats of the court on very high terms.

A new tribunal was conſtituted, veſted with the ſame powers as the late parliament, during the King's pleaſure; and the chief ſecretary to that auguſt body, was commanded by the King to act in the ſame capacity under this tribunal, but he nobly refuſed to comply, though his place had coſt him a million of livres, and produced him an hundred thouſand yearly. He ſaid, that he had

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taken his oath to the parliament, and was therefore under an indiſpenſible obligation not to act ſeparately, or independent of that venerable aſſembly. The King perſiſted, and M. de Voiſin being inflexible, loſt his employment, and was baniſhed to Languedoc. Several of the officers of the late parliament fled, to avoid acting under this new court, but they were ſummoned to return, under the pain of impriſonment, and of rendering their children incapable to hold any public employment whatever. The King's council were compelled to plead before this extraordinary tribunal; but though they requeſted leave to reſign, and had uſed their utmoſt efforts to avoid acting, yet the people reſented their compliance, and they were obliged to have guards to attend them; but this could not preſerve them, or the chancellor from inſults, whenever they appeared in public.

On the 22d of February, the long meditated plan of the chancellor, the author of all the miſchief in the kingdom, was carried into execution. The King held a bed of juſtice, at which an edict was publiſhed dividing the juriſdiction of the late parliament of Paris, which extended from Lyons

to Arras in Flanders, into ſix parts, under the denomination of ſuperior courts. Each court to have an equal, ſeparate juriſdiction, and to be eſtabliſhed at Arras, Blois, Clermont, Lyons, Poictiers, and Paris. Abuſes ariſing from the too extenſive juriſdiction of the late parliament, were aſſigned as the reaſon for this great alteration. The quality, and appointments of the officers of each court were ſettled by the ſame edict, and the inſtitutions of theſe tribunals declared to be perpetual. But never did any meaſure meet with more general diſapprobation and reſentment. The other parliaments remonſtrated; the provinces that were to be ſubjected to the new courts, repreſented, that it was inconſiſtent with the edicts of his Majeſty's predeceſſors; and that it was calculated only to tyrannize over them and their poſterity. In fine, the Princes of the blood, and a great number of the other Peers of France, ſigned a moſt animated proteſt againſt every ſtep that had been taken to the prejudice of the conſtitutional rights of the parliaments. This proteſt enraged the King to ſuch a degree, that it was propoſed in council, to baniſh the Princes and Peers who had ſigned it; but the motion was over-ruled, and the final

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reſolution of the court was now taken. The chancellor had prepared a new code of laws; it was approved by the council, and notwithſtanding the confuſion into which the new inſtitution had thrown the city of Paris, where all law proceedings were at a ſtand, and the execution of juſtice ſuſpended, it was carried into execution, at a bed of juſtice, held on the 13th of April. The Princes of the blood were ſummoned to attend; but as the intention of holding it was declared to be the permanent eſtabliſhment of the new tribunals, and of Maupau's code of laws, they all (except the Count de la Marche) wrote letters to the King, purporting, that as they could not give their votes in favour of the buſineſs propoſed to be tranſacted, they ſhould not be preſent. The King, incenſed to the laſt degree, forbad the Princes his court; and to ſhew his ſubjects that he was determined, at all events to be maſter, the Duke D'Aiguillon, the very criminal, againſt whom juſtice had been in vain demanded, and on whoſe account, all the diſputes between him and his parliaments had ariſen, was made prime miniſter. Matters were now brought to a criſis, the rod was put into the hands of a man equally reſentful and ambitious, and, inſtead

inſtead of limiting his cruelty and injuſtice to the province of Brittany, he had it in his power to extend it to all parts of the kingdom. Accordingly, at Paris, 42 members of the criminal court, called the *Chatelet*, were baniſhed to different places, having only 24 hours allowed them to take leave of their families and friends; and, in the courſe of the year, the parliaments of Beſançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Toulouſe, and Brittany, were ſuppreſſed; but new parliaments, diſpoſed to acquieſce in the preſent ſyſtem, were nominated ſoon after.

Thus was a revolution accompliſhed, which fixed a deteſted favourite in the ſeat of government, and rendered the King more abſolute than ever, by a ſubdiviſion of the judicial powers immediately dependent on his royal will and pleaſure; but this innovation, ſenſibly felt by the ſubjects of France, has been conſidered in too ſerious a light by moſt Engliſh writers. The parliaments of France by no means reſemble thoſe of Great Britain; for, if we except the power of granting aids to the King, and of regiſtering edicts for levying taxes, the principal part of their authority is judicial. The parliament of Paris was little more than a ſuperior court

of

of equity, and of criminal juſtice; and that abuſes were ſometimes committed, owing to the too extenſive power and influence of this parliament, muſt not, for it cannot be denied. The proceedings on the trial of Lally, are ſufficient to juſtify this remark. The incompetency of ſuch judges, with reſpect to military conduct, was apparent to the whole world. A court martial alone could properly determine the degrees of his criminality; but this is no plea for plucking up root and branch; the parliament might have been reformed, but it was overturning the ancient ſeat of juſtice to ſuppreſs it entirely; and the eſtabliſhment of unlimited deſpotiſm was the reſult, as it had been the object, of this violent meaſure.

During theſe tranſactions, the King of Sweden died ſuddenly in the 62d year of his age, and the Prince, who aſcended the throne, was at Paris, when he received the news of his acceſſion. The juſt apprehenſion that the diſtracted ſtate of the domeſtic affairs of France, of which this young monarch had been an eye-witneſs, might induce him to withdraw his alliance, made the French miniſtry, with their uſual policy, inſtantly terminate a negociation, which had been the

chief cauſe of his journey, and of his long reſidence at Paris: this was, the payment of the arrears due from France on the ſubſidy treaty with Sweden; they amounted to ſix millions of livres. Upon the news of this event, the court of Verſailles tendered one fourth of the whole ſum in ſpecie, promiſed payment of the remainder, in three ſucceſſive annual payments, and renewed the treaty with the young King, who left Paris, thoroughly ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his ſecret expedition, which had been announced to the world, merely as a journey of amuſement.

On the eleventh of May this year, the Count de Provence, the preſent King's brother, was married at Verſailles to a ſiſter of the reigning King of Sardinia; and, it is remarkable, that the Princes of the blood had ſo highly offended Louis XV. that they were not invited to this ſolemnity; and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the court, to put the people in good humour, by ſplendid illuminations, fireworks, diſtributions of wine, proviſions, and money; very little ardour was ſhewn to partake of the King's bounty, and the feſtival was not attended with the uſual crowds upon ſuch occaſions;

occaſions; nor did the ſpirit of gaiety ſeem to reign any longer in the hearts of the dejected Pariſians.

In the month of September, the youngeſt madame of France, the Princeſs Louiſa took the veil at the convent of the Carmelite of St. Denis, and thus buried herſelf to the world; the only inſtance, for many years, of a Princeſs, the daughter of a King, ſubmitting to become a nun, in any of the poor orders, of which indeed, the Carmelites is one of the moſt rigid and humiliating. This is the laſt occurrence of any conſequence in the annals of France during the year 1771.

The political and military operations of the northern powers, totally engroſſed the attention of the ſouthern courts of Europe during the year 1772; and the Princes of the blood being at length reconciled to the King, the internal peace of France ſeemed to be reſtored; but the Prince de Condé wrote a letter of recantation to his Majeſty upon this occaſion, which did him great diſcredit with the people, and occaſioned his being inſulted at a maſquerade, by a maſk in the habit of a windmill, which was intended to repreſent his verſatility.

The year 1773 commenced with a ſtrong ſuſpicion entertained by Great Britain and

the Empreſs of Ruſſia, her only powerful ally on the continent, that France was on the point of taking an active part in favour of the Turks, and likewiſe that ſhe entered too deeply into the affairs of Poland.

A report was circulated, that the French were equipping a fleet at Toulon, and another at Breſt, to oppoſe the Ruſſians in the Mediterranean, and that a Spaniſh fleet would join them. This opened a new ſcene of political ſpeculation at London; for, by a ſecret article in the laſt treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Ruſſia, it was ſtipulated, that the former ſhould aſſiſt the latter, in caſe ſhe ſhould be attacked at ſea by the fleets of France or Spain. In conſequence of this article, a fleet of obſervation was got ready, and ſent to the Mediterranean, to watch the motions of the French and Spaniards; but the alarms of war all ſubſided towards the end of the year; and at the opening of the parliament, (in January laſt) the King gave his ſubjects the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the pacific diſpoſition of the courts of Verſailles and Madrid. However, private letters from Paris, received in England, attributed this change at the court of Verſailles to the interpoſition of the Duke D'Aiguillon;

D'Aiguillon; for, it was confidently aſſerted, that the Marſhal Duke de Broglio, and the Count de Guignes, had taken meaſures to get the King into their power, to remove D'Aiguillon, and to force his Majeſty to break with England; but little credit was given to ſuch intelligence, by perſons who knew the ſituation of the domeſtic affairs of France; tumults and inſurrections were happening every day on account of the dearneſs of bread; the miniſtry were univerſally deteſted; the King deſpiſed, on account of his arbitrary proceedings againſt the parliaments, and his attachment to his miſtreſs; and the finances ſtill in ſo poor a condition, as to be unable to make good the King's royal promiſe, to diſcharge the demands of foreigners on the royal treaſury, particularly the Canada reconnoiſſances; though the tedious negociation for their final payment had been concluded by Lord Rochford, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, in 1772.

As it is on this weak ſide of France, that we can moſt ſafely rely for the duration of the peace, it may not be improper to give another proof of the low ſtate of public credit in that kingdom. In the month of December, 1773, a loan of twelve millions of livres,

for the King's uſe, was borrowed, with very great difficulty, at ten per cent.

The current year has afforded no public tranſactions worthy of notice, in which France was concerned; and the marriage of the Count D'Artois (the preſent King's youngeſt brother) to a daughter of the King of Sardinia, is the only domeſtic occurrence, if we except the inſurrections of the people, on account of the dearneſs of corn: theſe roſe to ſuch a height at Tours, that the lieutenant of the police was thrown into the river by the populace, in the month of March. Twenty-ſeven villages in the Lower Auvergne, were ſoon after in arms on the ſame account; and theſe diſturbances were not yet entirely quelled, when the ſudden illneſs of the King took off the attention of the government from all other objects. His Majeſty was ſeized with ſhivering fits, ſickneſs, and pains in his back, on the 27th of April, being then at Trianon; the next day he was removed, by his own deſire, to Verſailles; but it does not appear, that the phyſicians of his court had the leaſt ſuſpicion of the ſmall-pox at the commencement of his illneſs; for his diſorder was treated contrary to all the eſtabliſhed rules of modern prac-

tice in ſuch caſes. No wonder, therefore, that nature ſunk under the operations of copious bleeding and bliſters, which had been adviſed, on a ſuppoſition that the diſeaſe was a putrid fever. The eruption of the ſmall-pox appeared on the 29th, in the evening, to the ſurpriſe of the whole court; and, from this moment, little hopes were entertained of his recovery; every preparation, therefore, was made for the approaching awful change. The King, ſenſible of his danger, acted the part of a man and a chriſtian; the ſeductreſs of his heart, who had loſt him the eſteem of his ſubjects, was removed from the palace, and the miniſters of religion were called in to be witneſſes of the ſolemn vows of reformation made by the royal penitent, if heaven in mercy ſhould ſtill add to the number of his days; but, on the 9th of May, the phyſicians pronounced the fatal ſentence. The laſt rites of the Romiſh church were adminiſtered, in the preſence of the Princes of the blood and the great officers of ſtate; and the heralds were ſummoned to approach the chamber of the dying monarch; two to anounce his deceaſe, which happened on the 10th; and two, to proclaim the acceſſion of his ſucceſſor.

Thus

Thus died Louis XV. in the 64th year of his age, and the 59th of his reign. A Prince, whoſe character it is impoſſible to draw with preciſion at this period; for the ſecret motives of the moſt important tranſactions of ſovereigns are ſeldom made known till many years after their death; when the ſame inevitable fate having overtaken the miniſters who acted principal parts with them on their political theatre, their ſtate papers are made public, and new lights are thrown on the general hiſtory of the times in which they lived. Some late diſcoveries of this kind, to which credulity and party animoſity have lent the ſeal of authenticity, ſhould make writers extremely cautious how they draw the characters of men, who have made any conſiderable figure in life. With reſpect to Louis XV. there can be no doubt, that he was bleſſed with good natural abilities, and an humane, benevolent diſpoſition; the ſenſibility of a delicate ſoul was often conſpicuous in his private actions, but every principle, as well as the practice of the ſocial virtues, was abſorbed by accuſtoming himſelf to the voice of adulation, and by an unconquerable attachment to debilitating ſenſuality. He was the abſolute maſter of

every

every individual in his extenſive dominions, except himſelf, and his ſtate miſtreſſes, La Pompadour and Barré: but having no power over himſelf, he ſuffered theſe intriguing women to gain an entire aſcendancy over him, and to place and diſplace the great officers of ſtate, the generals of his armies, and even the magiſtracy at pleaſure. The ſource of theſe evils was a melancholy turn of mind, which increaſed upon him ſoon after the death of Cardinal Fleuri in 1742, and at times, reduced him ſo low, as to make him conſider life as an inſupportable burthen: to chaſe this gloom, unhappily he had recourſe to women and wine; and for the misfortune of France, the chief paſſion of his miſtreſſes was unbounded ambition. If the inconſtancy of his temper had prevented his forming a cloſe connection with any one, of the many women introduced to him to gratify his voluptuous inclinations, a veil might have been drawn over this moſt natural of all human foibles; but when we ſee the Sovereign of a great nation, which had made ſuch a conſpicuous figure in the annals of Europe under his immediate predeceſſor, granting his entire confidence to the dependants of his favourite

miſtreſſes, and thereby occaſioning fatal revolutions in the internal ſtate of his kingdom, we cannot but lament that ſuch weakneſs ſhould have tarniſhed the reputation of a Prince, who as a patron of the polite arts, and the founder of ſeveral uſeful eſtabliſhments, merits our applauſe.

The reign of Louis XIV. was the æra of military glory in France, that of Louis XV. was as remarkable for ſucceſsful negociations. The treaties of Aix la Chappelle in 1748, and of Verſailles in 1763; the alliance with the houſe of Auſtria, and the family compact, in all of which, France, by ſound policy, indemnified herſelf for the ravages of unſucceſsful wars, will be durable monuments of the ſuperior talents of her negociating miniſters, while they reflect but little luſtre on thoſe of the other powers of Europe.

The virtuous diffidence and amiable moderation of Louis XVI. who has juſt aſcended the throne of France in the 20th year of his age, afford that nation the faireſt proſpect of happy days: the reins of government are placed in the hands of the Duke of Orleans, the ſtrenuous advocate, though the unſucceſsful patron of the old parliaments.

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The Duke d'Aiguillon, the author of all the late troubles in the kingdom, is diſmiſſed: many of the exiled members of the parliaments are recalled, and that able miniſter of the marine, the old Count Maurepas, after twenty-three years exile, has aſſiſted at the councils of the new King. It may perhaps be an happy preſage of future glory to this nation, that Providence ſeems to have ſingled out this Prince to reign over them, for he comes to the crown, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, by eventual ſucceſſion derived from a ſingular accident. The Duke of Burgundy, his elder brother, fell a ſacrifice to the careleſsneſs of an officer, who taught him to ride the great horſe, and inſtead of ſeating him upon it, threw him over the machine, and he died ſoon after of the hurt he received in the fall, at about twelve years of age.

It would be unpardonable at this criſis, amidſt the multiplicity of opinions that have been given on the proſpect of affairs, with reſpect to Great-Britain and France, upon the acceſſion of Louis XVI. not to add a word or two on this ſubject. With concern, we have obſerved reports induſtriouſly circulated, that the young Monarch of France has a

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ſettled averſion to the Engliſh; nothing can be more falſe, nor is there the leaſt ſhadow of apprehenſion, either from the diſpoſition of the King, or the complexion of his miniſtry, that the tranquillity of Great-Britain will be diſturbed, during a long ſucceſſion of years.

Agriculture, commerce, the re-eſtabliſhment of a naval force, and the recovery of the bad ſtate of the finances by political œconomy, are objects which demand the immediate attention of the French miniſtry, at the commencement of a new reign; and they know the principles of ſound policy too well, to be diverted from them, by any ambitious or reſentful projects of the court of Spain; a power too feeble, in its preſent ſtate, to engage in a war with Great-Britain, unſupported by formidable alliances.

FINIS.

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